OPPOSE THE REVIVAL OF JAPANESE MILITARISM

(A Selection of Important Documents and Commentaries)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

The conclusion of the U.S.-Japan treaty of military alliance signifies the revival of Japanese militarism and Japan's open participation in the aggressive U.S. military bloc. This is an extremely grave step taken by the U.S. imperialists and the Japanese reactionaries colluding to prepare a new aggression and war and menace Asian and world peace. It cannot but arouse the vigilance of all peoples in Asia as well as those of other countries throughout the world.

The Chinese people have consistently opposed the revival of Japanese militarism and supported the Japanese people's struggle for peace, democracy, independence and neutrality. This pamphlet is a selection of important documents and commentaries concerning the opposition of the Chinese Government and people to the revival of Japanese militarism. To smash the plot of the U.S. imperialists and Japanese reactionaries in preparation for new aggression and war in the Far East is not only the task of the Japanese people but also the common task of all Asian peoples as well as those of all other countries in the world. The Chinese people will fight together with the Japanese people, the peoples of the Asian countries as well as those of other countries in the world against the U.S.-Japan military alliance and for the defence of peace in the Far East and the world.

February 1960

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Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

(February 14, 1950)

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, fully determined to prevent jointly, by strengthening friendship and co-operation between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the revival of Japanese imperialism and the resumption of aggression on the part of Japan or any other state that may collaborate in any way with Japan in acts of aggression; imbued with the desire to consolidate lasting peace and universal security in the Far East and throughout the world in conformity with the aims and principles of the United Nations; profoundly convinced that the consolidation of good neighbourly relations and friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics meets the vital interests of the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, have towards this end decided to conclude the present Treaty and have appointed as their plenipotentiary representatives: Chou En-lai, Premier of the Government Administration Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs

of China, acting for the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China; and Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., acting for the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Both plenipotentiary representatives, having communicated their full powers and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following:

ARTICLE 1

Both Contracting Parties undertake jointly to adopt all necessary measures at their disposal for the purpose of preventing the resumption of aggression and violation of peace on the part of Japan or any other state that may collaborate with Japan directly or indirectly in acts of aggression. In the event of one of the Contracting Parties being attacked by Japan or any state allied with her and thus being involved in a state of war, the other Contracting Party shall immediately render military and other assistance by all means at its disposal.

The Contracting Parties also declare their readiness to participate in a spirit of sincere co-operation in all international actions aimed at ensuring peace and security throughout the world and to contribute their full share to the earliest implementation of these tasks.

ARTICLE 2

Both Contracting Parties undertake in a spirit of mutual agreement to bring about the earliest conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan jointly with other powers which were Allies in the Second World War.

ARTICLE 3

Each Contracting Party undertakes not to conclude any alliance directed against the other Contracting Party and not to take part in any coalition or in any actions or measures directed against the other Contracting Party.

ARTICLE 4

Both Contracting Parties, in the interests of consolidating peace and universal security, will consult with each other in regard to all important international problems affecting the common interests of China and the Soviet Union.

ARTICLE 5

Each Contracting Party undertakes, in a spirit of friendship and co-operation and in conformity with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for the national sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of the other Contracting Party, to develop and consolidate economic and cultural ties between China and the Soviet Union, to render the other all possible economic assistance and to carry out necessary economic co-operation.

ARTICLE 6

The present Treaty shall come into force immediately after its ratification; the exchange of instruments of ratification shall take place in Peking.

The present Treaty shall be valid for thirty years. If neither of the Contracting Parties gives notice a year before the expiration of this term of its intention to

denounce the Treaty, it shall remain in force for another five years and shall be further extended in compliance with this provision.

Done in Moscow on February 14, 1950, in two copies, each in the Chinese and Russian languages, both texts being equally valid.

On the authorization of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China

CHOU EN-LAI

On the authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

A. Y. VYSHINSKY

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's Statement on the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan and the San Francisco Conference

(August 15, 1951)

On July 12, 1951, the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the United Kingdom published, simultaneously in Washington and London, the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan. A notification was subsequently issued on July 20 of the same year by the Government of the United States of America, calling for a conference at San Francisco in preparation for the signing of a separate peace treaty with Japan. In connection with this matter, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers it necessary to authorize me to make the following statement:

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers that the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan as proposed by the United States and British Governments is a draft which violates international agreements and is therefore basically unacceptable and that the conference which has been scheduled to meet on September 4 at San Francisco, under the compulsion of the United States Government, and which audaciously excludes the People's Republic of China is a conference

which repudiates international commitments and therefore basically cannot be recognized.

Whether considered from the procedure through which it was prepared or from its contents, the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan flagrantly violates those important international agreements to which the United States and British Governments were signatories, viz., the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942, the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration and Agreement, and the Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan which was adopted by the Far Eastern Commission on June 19, 1947. The United Nations Declaration provides that no separate peace should be made. The Potsdam Agreement states that the "preparatory work of the peace settlements" should be undertaken by those states which were signatories to the terms of surrender imposed upon the enemy state concerned. At the same time, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has expressed its full agreement to the proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union that all states that participated with their armed forces in the war against Japan should take part in the preparation of the peace treaty with Japan. However, after having refused for a long time to put into effect the principle embodied in the Potsdam Agreement and thus delayed the preparatory work for a peace treaty with Japan, the United States has monopolized the task of preparing the Draft Peace Treaty with Japan as now proposed, excluding most of the states that had fought against Japan and particularly the two principal Powers in the war, China and the Soviet Union, from the preparatory work for the peace treaty. Under the compulsion of the United States Government, a conference which excludes the People's

Republic of China has been scheduled to meet in an attempt to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan. It is evident that in contravention of international agreements, the present action on the part of the United States Government, which has the support of the British Government, is intended to obstruct the conclusion of an over-all and genuine peace treaty between Japan and all those states which are in a state of war with Japan. The United States Government is also compelling Japan, as well as some of the states at war with Japan, to accept a separate peace treaty that is only favourable to the United States Government, but not to the peoples of various countries, including those of the United States and Japan. It is in reality a treaty for preparing a new war and not a genuine peace treaty.

The above observations of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China are irrefutably based on the basic contents of the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan.

Firstly, since the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan is the product of the efforts of the United States Government and its satellites to seek a separate peace with Japan, therefore it not only ignores the views set forth in a series of statements by the Governments of the Soviet Union and China in connection with the main objectives of a peace treaty with Japan, but also most absurdly and openly excludes the People's Republic of China from the ranks of the Allied Powers at war with Japan. After the First World War, Japanese imperialism began its armed aggression against China in 1931 and, in 1937, started the aggressive war against the whole of China, but it did not launch the war in the Pacific until 1941.

In the course of the war of resisting and defeating Japanese imperialism, the Chinese people, after a bitter struggle of the longest duration, sustained the heaviest losses and made the greatest contribution. Thus, on the problem of a peace treaty with Japan, the Chinese people and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China which they have founded are most legally entitled to have a voice and to be a participant. But the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan provides that its Article concerning the disposal of the property and rights or interests in Japan of the Allied Powers and their nationals during the war is applicable for the period from December 7, 1941 to September 2, 1945, thus completely ignoring the period before December 7, 1941, when the Chinese people were carrying on the war against Japan single-handed. This illegal and truculent action on the part of the United States and British Governments in excluding the People's Republic of China and in adopting a hostile attitude towards the Chinese people can never be tolerated by the Chinese people, but will be opposed by them with determination.

Secondly, the provisions on territory in the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan are designed entirely to suit the desire of the United States Government to extend its occupation and aggression. On the one hand, the Draft Treaty ensures that the United States Government, in addition to the retaining of trusteeship over those Pacific islands which were formerly placed under Japanese mandate by the League of Nations, shall secure the trusteeship over the Ryukyu Islands, the Ogasawara Islands, the Volcano Islands, Rosario Island, Parece Vela and Marcus Island, thus actually retaining the right of continued occupation of these islands, whose separation

from Japan has never been provided for in any previous international agreement. On the other hand, in violation of the agreement under the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Declaration, the Draft Treaty only provides that Japan should renounce all right to Taiwan and the Penghu Islands as well as to the Kurile Islands, the southern part of Sakhalin and all islands adjacent to it, without mentioning even one word about the agreement that Taiwan and the Penghu Islands be returned to the People's Republic of China and that the Kurile Islands be handed over to, and the southern part of Sakhalin and all islands adjacent to it be returned to, the Soviet Union. The purpose of the latter omission is to attempt to create tense relations with the Soviet Union in order to cover up the extension of United States occupation. The purpose of the former omission is to enable the United States Government to perpetuate its occupation of Taiwan, a territory of China. The Chinese people, however, absolutely cannot tolerate such occupation and will never give up their sacred duty of liberating Taiwan and the Penghu Islands. Moreover, the Draft Treaty stipulates that Japan should renounce all right to Nanwei Island (Spratly Island) and Hsisha Islands (the Paracel Islands), but again deliberately makes no mention of the problem of restoring the sovereignty over them. As a matter of fact, Hsisha Islands (the Paracel Islands) and Nanwei Island (Spratly Island), just like the entire Nansha Islands, Chungsha Islands and Tungsha Islands, have always been China's territory. Although they had been occupied by Japan for some time during the war of aggression waged by Japanese imperialism, they were all taken over by the then Chinese Government, following Japan's surrender. The Central People's Govern-

ment of the People's Republic of China hereby declares: Whether or not the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty contains provisions on this subject and no matter how these provisions are worded, the inviolable sovereignty of the People's Republic of China over Nanwei Island (Spratly Island) and Hsisha Islands (the Paracel Islands) will not be in any way affected.

Thirdly, as is well known, the foremost objectives of a peace treaty with Japan should be to make Japan a peace-loving, democratic, and independent nation, and to prevent the revival of militarism in Japan, thereby ensuring that Japan shall never again become an aggressive nation menacing the peace and security of Asia and of the world. However, the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan not only provides no guarantees in this regard, but on the contrary violates the provisions on such questions as contained in the Potsdam Declaration and the Far Eastern Commission's Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan. The security and political clauses of the Draft Treaty contain no limitations whatever of the armed forces of Japan, place no ban on the remnant and reviving militaristic organizations, and provide no safeguard for the democratic rights of the people. As a matter of fact, the United States occupation authorities, through all the measures adopted in the past several years, have done their utmost to prevent the democratization of Japan and to revive militarism in Japan. The United States occupation authorities are not destroying Japan's ability to make war, but, in violation of the Far Eastern Commission's policy, are expanding Japan's military bases, training Japan's secret armed forces, reviving Japan's militaristic organizations, releasing Japan's war criminals and clearing a large

number of purged elements. Especially in the war of intervention against Korea, the United States occupation authorities have already started to make use of Japan's manpower, and have restored and developed Japan's war industries, in order to support the United States military aggression. In order to make it easy for the United States to perpetuate its occupation of Japan, not to withdraw its occupation forces, and to control Japan in such a manner as to make it an outpost of the United States aggression in the East, the Draft Treaty further stipulates that the Allied occupation forces, through an agreement with Japan, may remain in Japan for an indefinite period of time. This scheme of the United States Government, which obviously violates the obligations under international agreements, has the support of the Yoshida government which is a political mainstay of the United States occupation of Japan. The United States Government and the Yoshida government are conspiring with each other to rearm Japan, to enslave the Japanese people, and to drive Japan once again onto the path of aggression, which had led Japan to the brink of destruction. It is also a path which reduces Japan to the status of a dependency and a colony, subordinate to the U.S. scheme of aggression, and obliged to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States Government. This is a conspiracy to hinder the Japanese people from proceeding along another path which leads to peace, democracy, independence and happiness. In accordance with the provisions of the above-mentioned Draft Treaty, a U.S.-Japanese military agreement is now under secret negotiation. This military agreement under negotiation, just like the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan, is hostile towards China and the

Soviet Union and menaces the security of those Asian states and peoples that had suffered from Japanese aggression in the past. Therefore, it is obvious that the eagerness of the United States and British Governments to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan is not at all for the purpose of preventing the revival of militarism in Japan, promoting democracy in Japan and safeguarding the peace and security of Asia and of the world, but for the purpose of rearming Japan, and preparing a new world war of aggression for the United States Government and its satellites. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China feels constrained to oppose this with determination.

Fourthly, for the purpose of stepping up its preparation for a new world war of aggression, the United States Government will certainly further tighten its control of Japan's economy. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly declared that there should be no restriction on and monopoly of the development of Japan's peaceful economy and the normal trade relations between Japan and other states. However, since the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan is a separate peace treaty, which is hostile towards China and the Soviet Union and menaces the Asian states, therefore, its economic clauses also exclude China and the Soviet Union as well as many other states which cannot accept this Draft Treaty. In addition, by taking advantage of the privileges which it has already secured in Japan's economy through American corporations, and of the restrictions which it has imposed on Japan's peaceful economy, the United States Government can adapt even better these economic clauses to its monopolistic needs. Thus, if this separate peace treaty

with Japan were concluded, the colonial status of Japan's economy, depending on the United States, would be worsened. Not only would Japan's war industry gear its production to the United States scheme of world war, but even the industry in general would serve the United States economic aggression in Asia, while the normal trade relations between Japan and China and other neighbouring states for the purpose of developing peaceful economy and improving people's livelihood would suffer from even more outrageous and unreasonable restrictions. This would be a calamity for the Japanese people and other Asian peoples. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China deems it necessary to oppose it resolutely.

Fifthly, on the question of reparation, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers it necessary to clear up the confusion purposely created by the United States Government in the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan. While admitting that Japan should in principle pay reparation for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war, the Draft Peace Treaty asserts that Japan lacks the capacity, if it is to maintain a sound economy, to make reparation and to meet its other obligations. On the surface, it seems as if the United States Government were most concerned about the soundness of Japan's economy, but actually during the six years of its occupation and control of Japan, the United States Government, by making use of the various privileges and restrictions, has stealthily taken and is still stealthily taking reparation from Japan, and has damaged and is still damaging Japan's economy. The United States Government does not allow other states which had suffered from Japanese

aggression to claim reparation from Japan. The secret design which it would not divulge is precisely to preserve Japan's capacity to make reparation and to meet other obligations for further exploitation by the United States monopoly capital. If Japan, as it is alleged, already feels the lack of the capacity to make reparation and to meet other obligations, then it is the result of the excessive spoliation and damage done by the United States occupation authorities. As soon as the United States Government abides by the obligations under international agreements, withdraws its occupation forces at an early date after the signing of a peace treaty, immediately stops the building of military bases, gives up the plan of rearming Japan and restoring the war industry of Japan, abolishes the privileges enjoyed by American business concerns in Japan's economy, and removes the restrictions imposed upon Japan's peaceful economy and Japan's normal foreign trade, then Japan's economy will be brought to a truly healthy state. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China desires to see Japan capable of developing its peaceful economy in a healthy manner, and restoring and developing the normal trade relations between China and Japan, so that the life of the Japanese people will be free from the menace and damage of war and will have the possibility of real improvement. Meanwhile, those states which had been occupied by Japan, had suffered great losses, and have difficulties in rehabilitation by themselves should reserve their right of claiming reparation.

The above-mentioned facts furnish sufficient proof that the U.S.-British Draft Peace Treaty with Japan completely violates international agreements, damages the interests of the Allied Powers at war with

Japan, shows hostility to China and the Soviet Union, constitutes a menace to the peoples of Asia, disrupts the peace and security of the world, and is detrimental to the interests of the Japanese people. In this Draft Peace Treaty with Japan, the United States Government together with its satellites pursues only one central objective, namely, the rearmament of Japan in order to continue and extend its war of aggression in Asia, as well as to intensify its preparation for a new world war. This Draft Peace Treaty, therefore, is absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese people and other Asian peoples who had been victims of Japanese aggression.

With a view to expediting the conclusion of a separate peace treaty with Japan, the United States Government, in its notification for the convocation of the San Francisco Conference, openly excludes the People's Republic of China — the principal Power which had fought against Japan — and thus completely violates the stipulation in the United Nations Declaration of January 1, 1942, against a separate peace. It is abundantly clear that the convening of the San Francisco Conference under the compulsion of the United States Government to the exclusion of the People's Republic of China is for the purpose of creating division among the Allied Powers at war with Japan, and organizing a new bloc of aggression in the Far East. The so-called "Tripartite Security Treaty" between the United States, Australia and New Zealand and the U.S.-Japanese military agreement which is now being secretly negotiated, will both be concluded either during the Conference or thereafter, and will constitute a menace to the peace and security of the peoples in the whole of the Pacific area and in Asia. Therefore, the San Francisco Conference, with the

exclusion of the People's Republic of China from participation, cannot conclude a joint peace treaty with Japan; and even if the United States and its satellites proceed to conclude a separate peace treaty with Japan, the Chinese people absolutely will not recognize it.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has always maintained that it should be on the basis of such principal international documents as the United Nations Declaration, the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration and Agreement as well as the Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan adopted by the Far Eastern Commission, and that it should be through joint preparation by the principal Powers that had waged war against Japan and through participation by all the states that had fought against Japan that a peace treaty be concluded with Japan within the shortest time possible, a treaty which must be a joint but not a separate one, a just and reasonable one but not one that is coercive and monopolized, and a treaty for genuine peace but not one preparing for war. In order to further the realization of this object, I was authorized by the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China to make a statement on December 4, 1950 on the question of a peace treaty with Japan and send a note on May 22, 1951 to Mr. N. V. Roschin, Soviet Ambassador to China, expressing full agreement to the concrete proposals of the Government of the Soviet Union regarding the preparation of a peace treaty with Japan. The Central People's Government considers that all the concrete proposals regarding a peace treaty with Japan as set forth in the above-mentioned statement and note still remain valid.

Now, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China once again declares: If there is no participation of the People's Republic of China in the preparation, drafting and signing of a peace treaty with Japan, whatever the contents and results of such a treaty, the Central People's Government considers it all illegal, and therefore null and void.

For the sake of really helping to restore peace in Asia and to solve Far Eastern problems, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China firmly maintains that on the basis of the proposal of the Government of the Soviet Union, a peace conference should be convened with the participation of the representatives of all the states that had participated with their armed forces in the war against Japan, in order to confer on the problem of a joint peace treaty with Japan. At the same time, on the basis of the United Nations Declaration, the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration and Agreement, and the Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan adopted by the Far Eastern Commission, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is ready to exchange views on the problem of a joint peace treaty with Japan with all the states that had participated in the war against Japan.

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's Statement on the Announcement by the United States of America of the Coming into Effect of the Illegal Separate Peace Treaty with Japan

(May 5, 1952)

On April 28, 1952, the U.S. and Japanese Governments simultaneously announced the formal coming into effect of the illegal separate peace treaty with Japan as from that date. The U.S. Government also illegally announced the dissolution of the Far Eastern Commission in Washington and the Allied Council for Japan in Tokyo. The same day, a so-called "peace treaty" was also concluded between the Yoshida government of Japan and the remnant Kuomintang reactionaries now entrenched in Taiwan. These serious and flagrant acts of provocation have roused insurmountable indignation and strong opposition among the people of China. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has therefore specially authorized me to issue the following statement:

1. The U.S. Government has taken the extreme step of arbitrarily announcing the coming into effect of its exclusive and illegal separate peace treaty with Japan, in defiance of international agreements concerning Japan, such as the United Nations Declaration of January

1, 1942, the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta Agreement, the Potsdam Declaration and Agreement, the resolution adopted by the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow in 1945 concerning the establishment of the Allied Council for Japan, and the Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan adopted by the Far Eastern Commission, to all of which it was a signatory. In addition, it has autocratically and high-handedly dissolved the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council for Japan. Such a unilateral measure is absolutely illegal and is absolutely without foundation in reason. This illegal act of the U.S. Government was vigorously denounced by Ambassador Panyushkin, Soviet delegate to the Far Eastern Commission, in a statement on April 28. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers that the standpoint and attitude taken by the Government of the U.S.S.R. on this question are perfectly proper and conform fully to the wishes of peace-loving peoples throughout the world. This truculent and shameful act on the part of the U.S. Government in fact again proves that the U.S. Government may at any time tear up and treat as waste paper any international obligations and restraints which it has taken upon itself. Its complete lack of good faith has indeed reached depths never before plumbed. At the same time, this act proves its utter disregard for the legitimate rights of all states participating in the Far Eastern Commission, and in particular the legitimate rights of China, the Soviet Union and the other Asian states concerned. Arrogantly and wilfully, it does not even scruple to infringe on these rights. Obviously the U.S. Government is doing this because it is bent on intensified preparations for a new aggressive war,

directed against China and the Soviet Union and menacing the peoples of Asia. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China takes the view that the U.S. Government's forcible imposition on the Japanese people of the illegal separate peace treaty and the unlawful dissolution of the Far Eastern Commission and the Allied Council for Japan have further undermined the peace and security of the whole of the Far East and Asia. The people of the Far East and Asia certainly cannot remain indifferent to the menace of a new war created by these provocations of the U.S. Government. In defence of the peace and security of the Far East and Asia, the Chinese people, in the past few years, have unceasingly exposed the schemes of the U.S. Government for turning Japan into a military base, rearming Japan and organizing a Pacific aggressive bloc. They have also taken concrete counter-measures in answer to the U.S. crime of aggressive war against Korea and occupation of China's Taiwan. Now that the U.S. Government has further undermined the peace of the Far East and Asia, it is the profound desire of the Chinese people to cement the unity of the people of the Far East and Asia in joint efforts to put a stop to the U.S. war intrigues with a view to safeguarding the peace and security of the Far East and the rest of the world.

2. This separate peace treaty with Japan which has been manufactured entirely by the U.S. Government is in no way a treaty to restore sovereignty and independence to Japan or to change its status as an occupied country. On the contrary, it is precisely a treaty paving the way to war and enslavement, to turn Japan completely into a U.S. military base and dependency. As

early as September 18, 1951, the Chinese Government pointed out: "The separate peace treaty with Japan which was concluded at the San Francisco Conference under the coercion of the U.S. Government and without the participation of the People's Republic of China is not only no over-all peace treaty but is in no way a genuine peace treaty. It is only a treaty reviving Japanese militarism, a treaty of hostility toward China and the Soviet Union, a menace to Asia and a preparation for a new war of aggression." The Chinese people have consistently and firmly opposed this so-called "peace treaty." With the coming into effect of this illegal peace treaty, the so-called "U.S.-Japan Security Treaty" and "Administrative Agreement" also came into force on April 28. These treaties and agreement are deeds of betrayal of the Japanese nation and an American contraption for enabling it to establish over-all military, economic and political hegemony over Japan. Under the rule of the U.S. occupationists and their loyal lackeys, the Yoshida government, in accordance with the above-mentioned treaties and agreement, Japan has become a U.S. military beachhead in the Far East. Countless Japanese war criminals whose hands still reek of blood have been released or cleared from purge. Many Japanese youths in the name of "self-defence" are dragged off to form mercenary units for the United States in Japan. The whole economy of Japan has become an appendage to the economy of the U.S.A. and is compelled to serve the latter's war preparations. Japan is compelled to carry an enormous part of the cost of the U.S. occupation troops. Life for the Japanese people thus becomes increasingly difficult. The number of unemployed and semi-unemployed has topped 10 million. A militarist and

fascist Japanese regime, nurtured by the U.S. Government, is being revived and is growing, which deprives the Japanese people of their basic rights and hampers the free, peaceful and democratic development of the Japanese nation and people. Even more serious is the fact that by the operation of these illegal treaties, Japan is dragged by the U.S. into a position of open antagonism to China, the Soviet Union and the other Asian states concerned. This amounts to the isolation of Japan in Asia. Quite obviously, the separate peace treaty places Japan in the position not of independence, but of grave national crisis; not peace but war; not glory but humiliation. It is for this reason that the Japanese people name April 28, the day when the "peace treaty" came into effect, as a day of national humiliation. To rescue Japan from this national crisis, hundreds of thousands of Japanese people have entered upon and are developing a courageous struggle against the illegal San Francisco Peace Treaty, against imperialist occupation, against war and rearmament, and for Japan's independence and liberation. The Chinese people have deep sympathy for and enthusiastically support this struggle of the Japanese people. It is the firm conviction of the Chinese people that in this great struggle for the independence, freedom, democracy and peace of their motherland, the Japanese people will definitely win final victory.

3. The U.S. Government has ordered the Yoshida government of Japan to conclude a so-called "peace treaty" with the remnant Kuomintang reactionaries in Taiwan. This obvious attempt at pairing off the two servile offshoots of its own spawning by means of this so-called "peace treaty" has the preposterous aim of creating a military menace to the People's Republic of China. The Yoshida government of Japan, having accepted the U.S.-made separate peace treaty with Japan, which is hostile to China and the Soviet Union and betrays Japanese national interests, has now thrown all remaining scruples overboard and openly, on the orders of its U.S. masters, become the stablemate of the remnant Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan, which has long been spurned by all the Chinese people. It has even come out with the audacious and shameless statement that this "treaty" between the two should "apply to all the territory which is now under the control of the Government of the Republic of China or which may come under its control in the future." Furthermore, after the conclusion of the "treaty," it at once released 88 of the most vicious Japanese war criminals whose hands are stained with the blood of the Chinese people, including the notorious Yasuji Okamura. This shows that there has not been the least intention on the part of the reactionary rulers of Japan throughout the period of nearly seven years since the end of the Second World War in 1945 of atoning for their crimes. They are now determined, in the wake of U.S. imperialism, to continue the futile plans of armed invasion of China which they have pursued since 1894 and are preparing again to invade the mainland and revive their imperialist rule over the people of China and the rest of Asia. This means that Japan has not only failed to end the state of aggressive war against the Chinese people dating back to the September 18, 1931 incident but on the contrary, encouraged by the U.S. Government, there is danger of its preparing for a new aggressive war. The Chinese people cannot for a moment tolerate these preposterous schemes of the U.S. and the Japanese reactionaries. They

will heighten their vigilance and get ready to strike these war provocateurs, who are making futile attempts to violate the territory of the People's Republic of China, heavy blows as the occasion demands. The Chinese people defeated the Japanese aggressors and smashed the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary forces who were armed by the U.S. What is more, at the present time, alongside the Korean people, they are routing the U.S. aggression against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Thus, the Chinese people have full confidence in their ability to crush any new aggressive plans of the U.S. reactionaries and their lackeys.

Of course, these despicable activities of the reactionary Yoshida government run completely counter to the wishes of all Japanese patriots who are striving to end the state of war and resume peaceful relations with the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people know full well that the reactionary bloc led by the Yoshida government, spawned under U.S. occupation, in no way represents the Japanese people any more than the reactionary Kuomintang gang led by Chiang Kai-shek represented the Chinese people in the past. The Chinese people have always wanted and now still want to live in peace, friendship and unity with the Japanese people, to trade with them and respect each other's national independence and state sovereignty, so as to safeguard peace in the Far East. Only thus can China and Japan, and their peoples, be benefited.

4. The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China considers it necessary to repeat the following statement: We insist that all occupation troops should be withdrawn from Japan; the illegal separate peace treaty with Japan which the U.S. has announced as coming into effect can in no way be recognized; we are firmly opposed to the Yoshida-Chiang Kai-shek "peace treaty" which is an open insult and act of hostility to the Chinese people. The announcement and conclusion of these illegal treaties demonstrate that the U.S. reactionaries and their lackeys have taken another step in their scheme of creating new war in the Far East. The Chinese people are thoroughly convinced that with close unity among China, the Soviet Union and all other peace-loving states in Asia and their peoples, including the Japanese people, with their active prosecution of the task of preserving peace, the U.S. war schemes in the Far East can undoubtedly be checked and the peace and security of the Far East and the rest of the world safeguarded.

Joint Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Relations with Japan

(October 12, 1954)

As provided for in the Potsdam Declaration, after the conclusion of the Second World War, Japan should have received complete national independence, established its own democratic institutions, and developed its own independent and peaceful economy and national culture.

However, the United States of America, as the chief occupation power in Japan which had been charged with the main responsibility for implementing the Potsdam decisions, crudely violated these decisions, trampled on the interests of the Japanese people and imposed upon Japan the San Francisco "peace treaty" and other agreements which run counter to the above-mentioned agreement between the major powers.

Nine years after the end of the war, Japan has still not received independence and remains in the position of a semi-occupied country. Its territory is covered with numerous American military bases, which have been set up for purposes having nothing in common with the task of maintaining peace and securing the peaceful and independent development of Japan. The industry and finances of Japan are made dependent on American war contracts, and Japan suffers restrictions in its foreign trade. All this has ruinous effects on its economy, and particularly on the peaceful branches of its industry.

All this cannot but injure the national self-respect of the Japanese people, create an atmosphere of uncertainty among the Japanese, and fetter the varied abilities of the Japanese people.

The present situation in Japan has evoked a legitimate apprehension among the peoples of countries in Asia and the Far East that Japan may be used to carry out schemes of aggression which run counter both to the interests of the Japanese people and to the task of maintaining peace in the Far East.

The peoples of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union express their deep sympathy for Japan and the Japanese people, who have been placed in a difficult position as a result of the conclusion of the above-mentioned "treaty" and agreements which are dictated by foreign interests. They believe that the Japanese people will find adequate strength in themselves to take the course of freeing themselves from dependence on foreign power, the course of achieving the rebirth of their motherland and establishing normal relations and economic co-operation and cultural ties on a broad scale with other countries, first and foremost, with their neighbours.

The policy of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Soviet Union in their relations with Japan is based on the principle of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems, and on the conviction that this conforms with the vital interests of all peoples. They stand for the de-

velopment, on mutually beneficial terms, of broad trade relations and the establishment of close cultural ties with Japan.

They also express their readiness to take steps to normalize their relations with Japan, and declare that Japan will meet with the full support of the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union in its efforts to establish political and economic relations with the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. as well as in all measures Japan undertakes to secure the conditions for its peaceful and independent development.

Premier Chou En-lai Talks on Sino-Japanese Relations with Japanese Correspondents (Extract)

(July 25, 1957)

On July 25 Premier Chou En-lai gave an interview to the delegation of the Japanese Civilian Radio Union headed by Masuyasu Tajiri and the correspondents of the Kyodo News Agency and the *Asahi Shimbun* on Sino-Japanese relations.

Premier Chou refuted the slanders made by Nobusuke Kishi against China during his visit in the United States. According to an AP report from Denver on July 4, Kishi told American reporters that "the Chinese Communists would try to infiltrate the whole of Asia."

Premier Chou said: Japan is today under the control of the United States and Kishi's visit to the United States can be understood. We have no objection to Japan's friendship with the United States. We advocate friendship between all nations and are against mutual hostility. But the point is that Kishi went to the United States to curry favour with his American masters by slinging mud at New China.

Premier Chou said: There are many facts proving that we are willing to live in peace with all other Asian nations. Time and again we have said that after

normal relations have been restored, China and Japan can sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. In talks with the delegation of the Japanese Socialist Party, both Chairman Mao Tse-tung and I pointed out that provided Japan abrogates the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and the United States removes its military bases from Japan and withdraws its armed forces to enable Japan to gain full independence, those provisions of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance aimed at the prevention of the resurgence of Japanese militarism and its utilization by others, may be revised.

We have said all this before, but the Japanese Government has failed to act on the basis of these facts. On the contrary, in disregard of the facts, Kishi made slanderous statements about China while he was in the United States. We consider this highly regrettable.

The Chinese People Firmly Oppose Japan's Latent Imperialism

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(July 7, 1958)

After the general elections in Japan, Nobusuke Kishi, relying on the Liberal-Democratic Party majority in the Diet, again assumed the post of Prime Minister and formed his second cabinet. The present Kishi cabinet is the most reactionary of all the cabinets formed since the Japanese surrender in 1945. It is a concentrated representation of the interests of the most aggressive magnates of Japanese monopoly capital who have close ties with the United States.

In his policy statement, Nobusuke Kishi borrowed many phrases about democracy and peace. But these cannot in any way camouflage his home and foreign policies, which are: to keep tailing after the United States, to continue to create "two Chinas," to maintain stubborn hostility to the Chinese people, to carry out active economic expansion in Southeast Asia, to plot the resurrection of Japanese militarism and to suppress the Japanese people. The foreign and home policies of the Kishi cabinet fully reflect the latent imperialist ambitions of the Japanese monopoly groupings and point up the fact that Japan is being dragged further along

the old path of militarism and imperialism. *In the face* of this tendency, which menaces peace in Asia and the whole world, we are bound to maintain keen vigilance.

Since the end of the Second World War the struggle in Japan has centred on whether that country would take the path of independence and peace or of militarism and imperialism. This is at the same time a question that gravely concerns the peoples of those countries, and of China in particular, who were for a long time victims of Japanese militarist aggression. As early as February 1955, when Japan was holding its sixth post-war Lower House elections, this newspaper, in an editorial entitled "The Japanese People Are Faced with the Choice Between Two Paths," pointed out clearly: "The Japanese people are faced with the choice between two entirely different paths. One is to fight for independence and peace, that is, to free Japan from the state of semi-occupation under the United States and secure a position of independence and sovereignty, prevent the revival of militarism and enable Japan to make its contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia and the world. This would be in line with the general trend in Japan's political situation since the collapse of the Yoshida government. The other is to take the old path travelled by the Yoshida government. That is to remain overtly or covertly a willing satellite of the United States, revive Japanese militarism and fall more deeply into the quagmire of the U.S. aggressive policy of making 'Asians fight Asians,' thus endangering Asian and world peace. This would be to pursue a course contrary to the current political trend in Japan." At that time, we already warned the Japanese militarist elements that the first path would be welcomed by the people of Asian

countries, especially the Chinese people; but that if there were still people in Japan who wanted to tread in the footsteps of the Yoshida government, willingly become the stable companions of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek and a tool of U.S. aggressive policy, they would definitely meet with the resolute opposition of the masses of the people in Asia, and first of all, of the Japanese people. In the past few years, the Japanese people have carried out a widespread struggle for peace, independence and democracy which has dealt a heavy blow to the various plots for reviving Japanese militarism. The powerful Sino-Soviet alliance and the strength of the peace-loving peoples of the Asian countries have also played a tremendous role in preventing the revival of Japanese militarism.

The Chinese people, in pursuit of the lofty aim of safeguarding Asian and world peace, have cherished the hope that the ruling circles in Japan would learn from the resounding defeat which they suffered in the Second World War, free themselves from the control of the warmongering forces of the United States and take the path of peace and independence in the interests of Asian peace and the Japanese people. The Chinese people have consistently extended their deepest sympathy and active support to the struggle of the Japanese people for peace and independence, for friendship with the Chinese people and for the restoration of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations.

Though the state of war between China and Japan has not ended, the Chinese people in the past eight years have acted in the spirit of letting by-gones be by-gones and made every effort to help Japanese nationals who wanted to go home to return to Japan, dealt leniently

with the Japanese war criminals, given a friendly *welcome* to large numbers of Japanese visitors from all walks of life, and handled a number of questions of common interest directly with Japanese people's organizations. This lenient, well-intentioned attitude of the Chinese people, who have done all that they possibly could, has won a warm response among the Japanese masses and some of the more far-sighted within the ruling circles of Japan.

However, the monopoly groupings of Japan and the Kishi government which represents their interests have not shown one iota of remorse for their heinous crimes in invading China. On the contrary, trailing behind the United States, they have adopted a hostile attitude towards China, worked hard on the "two Chinas" scheme and made every effort to prevent the restoration of normal relations between China and Japan. They regard the goodwill shown by the Chinese people as a sign of weakness and take the desire of the Chinese people to develop Sino-Japanese trade on the basis of equality and friendship as a sign of the need of the Chinese people to rely on Japan in the course of building socialism. Under strong pressure from the Japanese people to develop friendship with the Chinese people and to restore diplomatic relations with China, the Japanese monopoly groupings and the Kishi government have resorted to double-dealing. They tried to make political capital and reap commercial gains from the friendly contacts between the Japanese and Chinese peoples, with a view to strengthening their bargaining position with the United States. At the same time, from their imperialist standpoint, they fondly imagined that despite all their hostility and insults towards the Chinese people, China would still have

to trade with Japan and, therefore, they could surely regard China as an object of Japanese economic expansion. The Kishi government arbitrarily scrapped the fourth Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement and connived at the insulting of the Chinese national flag in Nagasaki by Japanese hooligans. These moves, which clearly revealed such double-dealing, were at the same time a blunt exposure of the Kishi government's latent imperialism.

It is certainly no accident that the Kishi government is trying hard to drag Japan once more along the old path of imperialism. Japan is a highly developed capitalist country. Though it was defeated in the Second World War, lost its colonies and fell under the control of the United States, the dominant sections of monopoly capital in Japan were preserved by the United States, for the purpose of using them to restore Japanese militarism and turn Japan into its tool for aggression in Asia. For its part, Japanese monopoly capital has cherished the hope that by serving the aggressive policy of the United States it would obtain the latter's support so as to muster strength for an eventual comeback. During the Korean War, Japan played the role of supply base for the U.S. invasion forces in Korea, and this led to an expansion of Japanese monopoly capital. Inevitably it whetted the imperialist ambition of Japan's monopoly groupings to try their hand once again at gaining a dominant position in the Far East.

History has long shown that one of the characteristics of the development of monopoly capital in Japan is the fact that it was based on cruel exploitation of the people at home, economic expansion abroad and aggression and war. An economy built up on such foundations is not only unstable in itself but inevitably leads to aggression

against other countries, even to the extent of starting a war. Japanese monopoly capital used the profits gained in the Korean War to expand the productive forces of Japan's industry on a large scale and this brought about a rise in Japan's industrial output. But this rise reached its peak by July 1957. After that, industrial output began to drop. By February of this year, Japan's industrial and mining output was 13 per cent lower than in July of last year. Industrial and mining stockpiles have been rising since May 1957. By February of this year, they were 45 per cent bigger than in April last year. The number of totally unemployed increased from 480,000 in July 1957 to 850,000 in March of this year, an increase of 77 per cent. Some of Japan's major industries, such as those producing steel ingots, thick steel plates, automobiles, cotton yarn, paper and rayons, are now working at 20 to 50 per cent below what was envisaged.

These facts show that Japan is plunging into the economic crisis in the capitalist world in which the United States is taking the lead. They also provide the background to the formation of the second Kishi cabinet. In an effort to extricate itself from the crisis and to shift the burden to others, the Kishi government is prepared to increase Japan's commodity and capital exports to Southeast Asia, the Near and Middle East and Latin America, and renew its fight for foreign markets. Being badly short of funds, the Japanese monopoly capital put forward the so-called Southeast Asia Development Plan, which aims at using U.S. capital, Japanese technique and Southeast Asia's resources for the purpose of establishing a new "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." The second Kishi cabinet has pledged itself to make the

greatest effort to carry out this plan for economic expansion.

To serve the aggressive policy of the U.S., politically, Japanese monopoly capital is pushing ahead on U.S. instructions a project for a "Northeast Asian anti-Communist military alliance," to be formed by Nobusuke Kishi, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Ngo Dinh Diem. The current talks between Japan and South Korea are part and parcel of this conspiracy. Renzo Sawada, senior delegate of the Japanese side to the talks, said openly in Tokyo on June 11 that the task of Japanese diplomacy was to push the 38th Parallel to the Yalu River. This statement fully reveals that Japanese monopoly capital is prepared to follow the old path of aggression and war. Militarily, Japan now possesses armed forces far greater than those of Germany at the time immediately before Hitler's rise to power. With U.S. help, Japan has shipped in equipment for launching and carrying atomic weapons. Japan's war industry has been fully restored, and its potentialities are even greater than in the immediate prewar period. The U.S. has set up in Japan a network of military bases which can be used at any time for U.S. atomic war. In domestic affairs, Japanese monopoly capital is preparing to adopt the small constituency system, which provides conditions for revising the constitution and expanding armaments, as well as a series of other measures for reviving Japanese militarism. They are also ready to suppress and persecute the Japanese people who insist on taking the path of peace, independence and democracy.

Obviously the Japanese monopoly groupings, backed by the U.S. and prompted by their latent militarist and imperialist ambitions, are not only pushing Japan into

an abyss of catastrophe but are posing a grave threat to all Asian countries. In the interests of both the Chinese and Japanese peoples and of peace in Asia and the rest of the world, the Chinese people consider it their duty to thoroughly expose the nature of the Kishi government in connection with its hostile policy towards China. In acting thus, there is no question of going beyond the limit; on the contrary such an exposure is absolutely necessary and timely. Not only will it not aggravate international tension, but it is precisely aimed at easing international tension.

The future bodes no good for the Kishi government in leading Japan onto the old, imperialist path. Taking the international situation as a whole, the present epoch is one in which the East wind prevails over the West wind. Socialism is growing in the whole world like the sun rising in the east while imperialism is like the sun setting in the west. If it was true that twenty years ago, when socialism had triumphed in only one country and imperialism was still able to play the overlord for a while, Japanese imperialism could not even then fulfil its dream of dominating Asia, today, when socialism has become a world system and its superiority over imperialism is overwhelming, it is still more futile for the Japanese militarists to cherish the same old, imperialist dream. Moreover, the national independence movement is surging forward in Asia and Africa. The Asian and African nations have suffered greatly from imperialist aggression and many of them still have fresh memories of the aggression of the Japanese imperialists. These nations, resolutely fighting for or preserving their national independence, can count on the friendship and co-operation of the socialist countries. They will never

tolerate the unleashing of any new aggression by the Japanese monopoly groups no matter what form it takes.

The Kishi government pins great hopes on U.S. support. Looking to the U.S. for instructions and currying favour with his American masters, Kishi recently indicated that he might have second thoughts about the Nagasaki incident, hoping that this would give him a bargaining counter with the United States. But in bolstering up the Japanese militarists the purpose of the United States has always been to turn Japan into a dependency and an instrument of the U.S. policy of aggression, and not to foster a competitor for its markets. Moreover, the United States, which is now deeply involved in its economic crisis, is busy with its own affairs and eager to shift its crisis to the other capitalist countries, including Japan. At home, the forces among the Japanese people which oppose U.S. domination, and stand for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality are steadily growing into a political force that cannot be ignored. In the last two general elections in Japan, the Liberal-Democratic Party failed to obtain the two-third majority in the Diet needed for the revision of the constitution; and this shows that the Japanese people are against the revival of militarism and the resumption of the old, imperialist road.

The general trend of events in both the international situation and Japan's domestic situation cannot in any way be diverted by the Japanese monopoly groupings and the Kishi government. It is suicidal for the Japanese monopoly groups to go against this trend and persist in dragging Japan onto the old path of militarism and imperialism. It would be wiser to follow the general trend

of events in the world, give up imperialist designs, accept peaceful co-existence and undertake economic co-operation with the Asian and African countries in accordance with the Bandung Conference principles. Whither the Kishi government: this is the important choice it has to make.

As to the relations between China and Japan, the attitude of the Chinese people is very clear. They have always been friendly to the Japanese people. However, they firmly oppose the latent imperialist ambitions of the Japanese monopoly groupings and the Kishi government. The Chinese people have stood up and are building socialism with tremendous heroism and boundless enthusiasm; they are completely confident of surpassing the industrially advanced capitalist countries within a very short period. If China and Japan establish normal relations on the basis of equality and friendship, co-exist peacefully and develop contacts in various fields, this will conform not only to the desires and interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples but also to the interests of peace in Asia and throughout the world. But if the Kishi government persists in its hostility towards the Chinese people, continues with the "two Chinas" scheme and continues to obstruct the restoration of normal relations between China and Japan, it will have to bear full responsibility for suspension of all contacts between China and Japan. We are convinced that the struggle of the Japanese people for friendship with China and normal relations between the two countries, like their struggle for peace, independence, and democracy, will overcome all obstacles and difficulties and be finally victorious. The Chinese people will give full and consistent support to this just struggle of the Japanese people.

A Complete Exposure of the True Face of Japanese Militarism

By *Renmin Ribao* Observer

(October 17, 1958)

The Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi's interview with an American NBC correspondent on October 14 completely exposes the true face of Japanese militarism and signals its readiness to follow at the heels of the United States in aggression against China and the rest of Asia. Every peace-loving Asian should read and inwardly digest this self-introduction of Kishi's.

Kishi began by declaring that "the time has come for Japan to eliminate the 'no war' provision in the (Japanese) constitution." He held that Japan should be able to send troops abroad in order to "play her full part in the fight to preserve the free world." Continuing, he parroted Dulles saying that "the Taiwan situation is not a civil war, it is an international fight against Communist aggression." He openly slandered the Chinese people as the aggressors in Korea and Vietnam and ". . . now the aggressors against Quemoy and Matsu." Kishi also clamoured that "it is essential to the security of Japan that Korea and Taiwan do not fall into Communist hands." Thus, he laid bare the Japanese militarist plans of aggression and war, first by revising the

constitution, and then by following at the *heels* of the United States in aggression against China and the rest of Asia.

We pointed out long ago that Kishi is the chief henchman of the United States in the latter's intensified aggression against China in the Taiwan Straits area and provocations against the Chinese people. Such aggressive and provocative activities have been condemned by the peoples of all countries in the world. Not a single member state of the U.S.-sponsored military blocs has dared to make a public declaration of its readiness to go along with Washington's adventure. It is at a time like this when the United States finds itself in a state of utter isolation that a buffoon-like figure comes forward from the clique of latent Japanese imperialism and publicly declares his eagerness to be a pawn of the United States. Kishi's obsequious subservience to Washington and bitter hostility to the peoples of China and the rest of Asia may be said to have reached their limit. If there still remain some people who have not yet seen clearly Kishi's true reactionary face or have underestimated his reactionary character, will this interview of his not provide the best object lesson?

It is no accident that when Kishi declared that Japan must be prepared to "play her full part in the fight to preserve the free world," he particularly mentioned Taiwan and Korea. They were once occupied by Japanese imperialism and now Kishi recommends himself to Washington as a "veteran guide." On the other hand, however, the Japanese militarists have their own axe to grind. Kishi let the cat out of the bag when he said Taiwan and Korea were essential to Japan's "security." The Chinese people are very familiar with such utterances:

this was the piratical logic used by the Japanese militarists — from the times of Tanaka to Tojo — when they invaded China. Before the incident on September 18, 1931, they said that "Manchuria and Mongolia are Japan's lifelines." After that, they said that North China was essential to Japan's "security." Does not what Kishi has said sound exactly the same? The Japanese militarists of today are dreaming their old dream of invading China. Recently some representatives of Japanese monopoly capital have advocated the "annexation of Taiwan," openly instigating a "plebiscite" in Taiwan aiming at its annexation to Japan. This revealed that Japan intends to again put its hands on the Chinese territory of Taiwan. Facts have now proved that it is none other than the Japanese Prime Minister Kishi himself who is behind this blatant scheme.

This piratical logic of Kishi's is not directed against the peoples of China and Korea alone. For, if according to this logic, Chinese and Korean territories are essential to Japan's "security," then the Philippines, Vietnam, Burma, Indonesia and even Australia and other countries in Southeast Asia and the Pacific can also become essential to Japan's "security." The peoples of the Asian and Pacific countries still remember Japanese imperialism's aggression against these countries behind the smokescreen of "anti-communism" and "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." Now Kishi is again raising the banner of "anti-communism," not only at home but also in other Asian countries. What else can this mean but a revival of "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere"? In fact, Kishi's stress in his interview on the "importance" of Taiwan and Korea to Japan is another way of expressing his eagerness to form the so-called

Northeast Asia anti-Communist alliance with Japan, South Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan as members, as the first step towards the revival of "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." Naturally, this alliance would have the United States as its backstage director and be an instrument of U.S. policies of aggression and war in the Far East. However, from the many things Kishi has said, Japan's overflowing ambition is to be the leader of this alliance.

The Chinese people have to tell Kishi plainly that Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu are all Chinese territories and that they, the Chinese people, are determined to liberate them. If the Japanese imperialist adventurers intend to trail behind the United States in its interference in China's internal affairs, this can only be interpreted as a deliberate provocation against the Chinese people. There is no doubt that it is none other than Japanese imperialism which will finally meet with a crushing defeat. Likewise, any step taken by the Japanese militarists in their attempt to revive "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" will arouse the vigilance and firm opposition of the peoples of all Asian and African countries. Inevitably they will rise as one man to fight it. All efforts of the Kishi government to realize today the Japanese militarist ambitions in Asia, which failed before, are doomed to still greater failures.

By serving as a willing tool for the U.S. policy of aggression and war, Kishi can only push Japan into an abyss of war and lead the Japanese people again into endless disaster. This is why Kishi's policy of increasingly blatant militarism is encountering the ever stronger opposition of the Japanese people. Recently, the Japanese Socialist Party, the Japanese Communist Party and various people's organizations have swung into action on a broad scale with a common objective for struggle and common demands. A powerful and vigorous campaign has been launched throughout the country. At a national conference held in Tokyo a short time ago, the Japanese people publicly demanded of the Kishi cabinet in the name of the entire Japanese people that it cease all activities to create "two Chinas," restore the diplomatic relations between Japan and China, oppose the U.S. armed intervention in the Taiwan question, oppose the use of bases in Japan by the U.S. armed forces, and refrain from participating in alliances, such as "the Northeast Asia military alliance," spearheaded against China. The conference further voiced the view that to achieve these aims all who attended the meeting should mobilize the strength of the entire Japanese people to carry on a long-term and effective movement.

The peace-loving Japanese people do not want war. They are opposed to Kishi's policy of hostility and schemes of aggression against China. The Chinese people will resolutely stand together with the peace-loving Japanese people and carry the struggle to the end to safeguard peace in Asia and the rest of the world and to destroy completely the imperialist forces which are committing aggression against China and the rest of Asia and bringing disasters upon the world.

Statement on the Revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" Issued by Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China

(November 19, 1958)

The Kishi government of Japan is now negotiating with the United States Government for the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Surely with no good intentions, the United States is anxious to get Japan involved and turn it into a tool for U.S. aggression in Asia. The Kishi government of Japan, on its part, is willing to enter into the service of the United States and tie Japan more tightly to the American war chariot so as to pursue its policy of continued hostility to China and of expansion in the direction of Southeast Asia.

The Chinese people are suffering from U.S. aggression. Their memory of the Japanese militarists' crimes of aggression is still fresh. The Chinese Government and people cannot help being gravely concerned over the hostile plot against the Chinese people concocted by the Kishi government of Japan in collusion with the United States, and express their great indignation.

The Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is a unilateral, unequal treaty by which U.S. imperialism enslaves the Japanese nation. Through this treaty Japan has been brought nearer and nearer to the brink of war created by the United States. In recent years, in order to shake off

U.S. control and gain national independence, the Japanese people have constantly demanded the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the removal of all U.S. military bases and withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Japanese soil including Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands. The Chinese people fully sympathize with the just aspirations of the Japanese people and support them, and would like to see them realized through the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" or the conclusion of a truly equal treaty between Japan and the United States.

The revisions which the United States and Kishi are planning to make in the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," however, are diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the Japanese people. Taking advantage of the Japanese people's desire for independence and sovereignty, the U.S. is trying, in a fraudulent way, to modify this treaty into one which is even more unequal for Japan. According to information already disclosed, this time the United States may make certain nominal concessions in exchange for even greater Japanese sacrifices in the U.S. interest. The plan of the United States is obvious. The first step is to make Japan assume the obligation of defending U.S. military bases under the name of mutual defence. The second step is to extend the mutual defence area to the West Pacific. The third step is to involve Japan in a nuclear war when the occasion arises, and make it pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States. In this way, the Americans can turn Japan into their permanent military base; they can stay on in Japan and lord it over the Japanese, ordering them to do this and that and depriving Japan of its independent position for ever.

The Chinese people have never objected to an independent, peace-loving and democratic Japan having armed forces for self-defence to safeguard its own independence. The United States, however, intends that the Japanese armed forces should not be used for self-defence, but to guard U.S. bases and serve as cannon-fodder for U.S. aggression. Under the name of "mutual defence," the United States could dispatch Japanese troops to China's Taiwan and to any place in the West Pacific, whenever it deems necessary, to serve as accomplices in U.S. military aggression.

It is by no means accidental that the United States has agreed to revise the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" at this moment. Having suffered successive defeats recently after taking the field itself in the Near and Middle East, and particularly in the Taiwan Straits area, the United States is now anxious to find a capable helper in the Far East to bear the brunt on its behalf, so as to realize its plot of using Asians to fight Asians. Nor is it at all strange that Kishi should be willing to follow the United States into deep water. The Kishi government, which is the concentrated expression of latent imperialism in Japan, imagines that by further collaborating with the United States it will be able to revive Japanese militarism, suppress the dissatisfaction and resistance of the Japanese people, save Japan from its ever more serious economic crisis and realize the ambitions of Japanese monopoly capital to have a finger in Taiwan and to expand in the direction of Southeast Asia. But Kishi has totally miscalculated. The world of today is by no means the world of 20 years ago. The mighty Soviet Union and China are impregnable. The attempt of Japanese monopoly capital to carry on

economic, political and military expansion in Southeast Asia by means of further military collusion with the United States is also sure to be frustrated. The awakened peoples of the Southeast Asian countries definitely will not tolerate plunder by Japan. Japanese expansion can have no other result but to arouse the resolute opposition of the peoples of these countries, and thus fail in the end. If Kishi refuses to come to his senses and persists in playing the accomplice in the United States aggression against China and the rest of Asia, he will be "lifting a rock only to have his own toes squashed."

Japan is a nation with a tradition of independence. The Japanese people are industrious, talented and brave. The Japanese people cannot possibly allow the United States to lord it over them for long. They resolutely demand an end to the state of U.S. occupation of Japan, the abrogation of unequal treaties between the United States and Japan, and the establishment of equal relations, as between two independent states, between Japan and the United States. The Chinese people have always supported the Japanese people in their struggle for independence, peace and democracy. They heartily wish that Japan will become a country of peace and neutrality. The only bright future for the Japanese people lies in an independent, democratic, peace-loving and neutral Japan which has equal and mutually beneficial economic relations with other countries of the world, first of all, with the Asian countries, and together with them makes progress, enjoys prosperity and lives in peace.

Kishi's policy of leading the Japanese people to a dead end has evoked the ever stronger resistance of the Japanese people of all social strata. In order to de-

prive the Japanese people of democratic freedoms and pave the way for the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the Kishi government is trying to force through the "Police Duties Law Revision Bill." The Japanese people have launched a powerful mass movement, unprecedented in its scale, to oppose this bill, the new military collusion between the U.S. and the Japanese reactionaries and the Kishi government's policy of antagonizing China. Sensible people in the Liberal-Democratic Party are also expressing ever greater discontent with Kishi's reactionary policy. The Chinese people have sincere sympathy for and support the Japanese people in their just struggle to attain independence and safeguard democracy. Although the struggle will be long and the path tortuous, the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices will certainly suffer final defeat and the Japanese people will certainly win ultimate victory.

Peace, Independence and Democracy, the Only Bright Road for the Japanese People

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(November 20, 1958)

In early October, the Kishi government of Japan and the U.S. Government began their talks in Tokyo on the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Although both sides are discreetly silent regarding the details of the talks, the information divulged by those having close connections with the two governments is already sufficient to prove that the aim of the talks is to make use of the Japanese people's desire for independence to conclude a Japan-U.S. bilateral military alliance, under the guise of revising the "Security Treaty." U.S. imperialism is using the rope of "mutual defence" to try and tie Japan still more tightly to its war chariot; to turn Japan into a tool of the United States for carrying out aggression in Asia for the purpose of realizing its covert scheme to use Asians to fight Asians. At the same time, the Kishi government is plotting to revive Japanese militarism through closer military collusion with the United States, to suppress the forces of peace and democracy in the country and so fulfil the ambition of Japanese monopoly capital to lay its hands on Taiwan and carry out expansion in Southeast Asia. If these

intrigues of the U.S. and the Japanese reactionaries succeed, not only will Japan be dragged along the path of war and aggression, but China's security and Asian peace will be gravely threatened. The Chinese people cannot but express their grave concern regarding all this and deliver a stern warning. We fully support Foreign Minister Chen Yi's Statement on the Revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," and maintain that it not only correctly reflects the Chinese people's stand but also expresses the Chinese people's earnest wish to see the Japanese people step onto the path of a bright future.

After the Second World War, the Chinese people who had suffered a great deal from imperialist aggression and oppression hoped that their close neighbour Japan would become a peaceful, independent and democratic country, and always maintained that a peaceful and democratic Japan must be, first of all, an independent Japan. As early as in October 1954, it was already pointed out in the Joint Declaration of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Relations with Japan that "As provided for in the Potsdam Declaration, after the conclusion of the Second World War, Japan should have received complete national independence, established its own democratic institutions and developed its own independent and peaceful economy and national culture." The attitude towards Japan expressed in the Sino-Soviet joint declaration stemmed from the principle that countries of different social systems can peacefully co-exist, and it is completely in accord with the hopes for Japan entertained by the peoples of the various countries who suffered from Japanese imperialism.

However, since the end of the War, Japan has been in a state of semi-occupation by the troops of U.S. imperialism. Through various unequal treaties, first of all the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the United States has exercised complete control over Japan militarily, economically and politically, seriously infringing upon Japan's sovereignty and independence. The U.S. troops have been stationed in Japan for a long time and the United States has set up military bases everywhere on the main islands, Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands. Anybody can see clearly that either in 1950 when the United States launched the aggressive war against Korea or more recently when the United States carried out war provocations against China in the Taiwan Straits area, the U.S. used Japan as the war and supply base for its armed forces. The United States has brought Japan nearer and nearer to the brink of wars designed and created by itself.

In order to free their country from U.S. control and attain national independence, the peace-loving Japanese people have waged a series of struggles. They demand the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the elimination of all U.S. military bases and the withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from Japanese territory including Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands. Recently these demands have been growing in intensity. The Chinese people fully sympathize with and support these righteous demands of the Japanese people and sincerely hope that they may be realized through the signing of a truly equal Japan-U.S. treaty with the abrogation of the existing one or the elimination of all bases and the withdrawal of all armed forces by the United States from Japanese territory as a prerequisite. The present talks between

the United States and the Kishi government on the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," however, are quite another matter. The intentions of the United States are that the revised Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" shall never be an equal one, but one which will force Japan to relinquish more independence and so become more submissive to its war policy. The United States not only refuses to give up its military bases and withdraw its armed forces from Japan, but is asking Japan to help in the defence of U.S. military bases and to dispatch Japanese troops, whenever necessary, to any area in the West Pacific for use as cannon-fodder for U.S. aggression and for the purpose of pulling the U.S. chestnuts out of the fire. It is, therefore, clear that a Japan that has lost its independence and is submissive to the United States can never gain peace. On the contrary, the United States will only drag it by the nose step by step into a nuclear war and eventually sacrifice it in the interests of a U.S. war of aggression.

Similarly, a democratic Japan must, first of all, also be an independent country. In order to control Japan for ever and drag it along the old path of war and aggression, U.S. imperialism will never permit the Japanese people to step onto the road of peace and democracy. On the contrary, the United States has continually supported the most reactionary forces in Japan and carried on activities to revive militarism. Is it not true that the Japanese militarist forces have once more gained power in the last few years? Recent developments have shown this even more clearly. With a view to suppressing the forces of peace and democracy in the country and clearing away any obstacle to the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the Kishi government is deliberately trying to

force the adoption of the "Police Duties Law Revision Bill," in order to turn Japan again into a militarist police state. A man like Kishi who submits to the U.S. designs will never lead Japan onto the path of democracy but only towards fascism; and the country, having turned fascist, will take the path of war, not that of peace. Were not the lessons learned by the Japanese people during the long pre-war period, when Japanese militarist elements ruled Japan, painful enough?

Now Kishi's reactionary face has been completely exposed. His latent imperialist policy has been brought to the surface and made public. Kishi is leading Japan in a direction that is entirely contrary to the wishes of the Japanese people, one that makes Japan more subservient to the United States and leads once more to militarism and imperialism. Having no scruples in using the Japanese people and Japan's national interests as a stake in his gamble, he is working for further military collaboration with the United States. By so doing, he hopes to bargain for U.S. help to further the Japanese reactionaries' aggressive plans for the re-establishment of "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," to avert Japan's deepening economic crisis and enable it to regain a dominant position in Asia. Actually, however, this is simply an idiot's dream. What the Japanese reactionaries are facing today is a powerful New China united as never before, not the old, weak and disunited China of twenty years ago, and also a number of newly-risen socialist and nationalist countries in Asia, which are no longer the colonies and semi-colonies they were twenty years ago which could be carved up with impunity by anybody. We must solemnly warn Kishi and his ilk that they won't be able to touch the great New China

and, what is more, they won't be able to browbeat the awakened peoples of the Southeast Asian countries. Kishi may think that things will be different after Japan once embarks on this U.S. warship. The fact, however, is that this U.S. ship is sinking in the angry storm of opposition to U.S. aggression raised by the peoples of China and the world. Can there be a way out by embarking on it? The United States paper tiger does not amount to anything. What do the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries amount to even when put together? The days of U.S. imperialism, the master of the Japanese reactionaries, are numbered. To be a U.S. accomplice can lead the Japanese reactionaries to nothing but speedier defeat.

The only bright road for Japan is to establish itself as an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral country, set up economic relations with all other countries in the world, first of all, with those in Asia, on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and peacefully co-exist, develop and prosper together. To adopt this course, however, the Japanese people have first to rid themselves of U.S. control, abolish the unequal treaties between their country and the United States and put an end to the U.S. occupation of Japan, so that the relations between the two countries will be one of equality as between two independent countries. Only when Japan is really independent will it be possible for it to practise democracy at home and maintain peace and neutrality with other countries.

The Chinese people earnestly desire the establishment of lasting friendly relations with an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. They hope that Japan will co-exist peacefully and maintain mutual friendship with China and other Asian countries; moreover, they

have never had any objection to Japan's peaceful co-existence and mutual friendship with the United States on the basis of equality.

Furthermore, the Chinese people have never opposed an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan possessing armed forces for self-defence. We also believe that such armed forces would be a contribution to the protection of Japan's independence.

The Chinese people have consistently held the view that an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan should establish economic relations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit with China and other Asian countries. As an Asian country Japan was industrialized earlier than others and its foreign trade was highly developed. Japan's chief market never was nor can it be the United States. Post-war economic dependence on the United States has brought Japan no benefits. On the contrary, it has suffered much because the United States has taken advantage of the weaknesses in Japan's economy. If Japan will take the path of peace, independence and democracy and give up its ambition for economic expansion, it is perfectly possible for it to share common economic development together with other Asian countries within the great Asian family on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, commercial exchange and friendly co-operation. Japan will then be able to find a reasonable way forward for its economic development.

In order to win peace, independence and democracy for Japan, and to oppose Kishi's submission to the United States thereby dragging Japan onto the old path of militarism and imperialism, the Japanese people have already launched a vast struggle. The scale of this struggle, the number of people and various strata partici-

pating in it, its power and influence are all unprecedented in Japan's post-war history. Now, not only the broad masses of the Japanese working people, intellectuals and the middle and petty bourgeoisie are taking an active part in it, but also some of the far-sighted people within the Liberal-Democratic Party have now come forward to condemn Kishi's reactionary policy. Under the blows dealt by the Japanese people, the Japanese reactionaries have sunk into a critical position of unprecedented isolation. This clearly shows how weak the Japanese reactionaries headed by Kishi really are. Their way of doing things against all reason and good sense and running amuck for a time, far from saving them from disaster, will only arouse the Japanese people to struggle against them with greater determination. The Chinese people heartily support the Japanese people in their righteous fight. We trust that they, with their tradition of independence, will never allow the United States to ride roughshod over them for ever. In spite of the many difficulties they may meet with in their way forward, we believe the industrious, courageous and intelligent Japanese people will certainly defeat all attacks of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and embark on their own bright road of peace, independence and democracy.

Joint Statement by Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and Inejiro Asanuma, Leader of the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation Visiting China

(March 17, 1959)

The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation headed by Inejiro Asanuma visited the People's Republic of China in March 1959 at a time marked by an upsurge of the nation-wide movement launched enthusiastically by the Japanese people to restore Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations and put an end to the Japan-U.S. "security" system. Following the visit of the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation to China in April 1957 and the publication of the joint statement by Chang Hsi-jo and Inejiro Asanuma at that time, and as a result of the efforts of the peoples of China and Japan, there was for a time a considerable development of contacts between the peoples of the two countries. Unfortunately, after May 1958, as a result of the policy of hostility towards China pursued by the Kishi government, relations between the two countries deteriorated and became highly abnormal. The purpose of the current visit by the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation is to convey to the Chinese people the Japanese people's fervent desire for peace, democracy and the earliest resumption of diplomatic relations with

China, to promote people's diplomacy in order to consolidate and develop the friendship between the peoples of the two countries, and to step up the efforts of the peoples of the two countries to remove the artificial barriers raised against normalization of Sino-Japanese relations.

Although diplomatic relations between the two countries have not yet been resumed and their relations have been almost completely disrupted since the spring of last year, the Chinese side has welcomed the visit by the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation.

During their visit, Inejiro Asanuma, leader of the delegation, and its members Seiichi Katsumata, Soji Okada, Eki Sone, Toshi Nakazaki, Tadataka Sata, and Toshio Tanaka called on Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Chen Yi and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Peng Chen, and held lengthy talks with them. The delegation also had talks on many occasions with Chang Hsi-jo, President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, and other Chinese quarters concerned.

These talks, which proceeded throughout in a friendly and sincere atmosphere, have achieved some concrete results and had very important effects in promoting the friendship between the peoples of the two countries. It has therefore been agreed to state jointly the following points:

Both sides have reviewed the changes in the international situation since the publication of the joint statement between Chang Hsi-jo and Inejiro Asanuma in April 1957. Both sides unanimously hold that at the present moment the forces against imperialism and colonialism are growing daily stronger throughout the world.

Such developments are highly favourable to Japan in her efforts to defeat the Japan-U.S. "security" system and regain Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands and to China too in her efforts to liberate Taiwan. At the same time, the peoples of the two countries must join hands in opposing the cold war and atomic war, in implementing the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the ten principles of Bandung, and in safeguarding peace in Asia and throughout the world.

Both sides emphatically reiterate that, in view of the current international situation and the situation in Asia, it is necessary to bring about an over-all and unconditional prohibition of the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons of any description. For this purpose, all nations possessing nuclear weapons should speedily negotiate an agreement to prohibit the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons.

The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation expresses the stand of its party that it is determined to defend faithfully, together with the Japanese people, the peace constitution of Japan, prohibit the manufacture, stockpiling, use and importation of any nuclear weapons by Japan and strive to get a declaration issued by Japan not to arm itself with nuclear weapons. Both sides have reached a unanimity of views on setting up an area free from nuclear weapons in Asia and the Pacific and on exerting efforts directed to this end together with all the countries concerned.

A high appraisal has been made of the efforts by the peoples of the two countries to improve relations between their countries and develop people's friendship following the publication of the joint statement by Chang Hsi-jo and Inejiro Asanuma on April 22, 1957.

Both sides affirm that, in view of geographical and historical relations and the existing state of affairs between the two countries, the Governments of China and Japan should have immediately proceeded to the stage of negotiating formal and over-all resumption of diplomatic relations. Unfortunately, on the contrary, owing to the Kishi government's policy of hostility towards China, relations between the two countries have greatly worsened, to the point of deadlock. This is entirely against the will of the peoples of the two countries.

The Chinese side holds that to break this deadlock the following three principles must be put into effect and appropriate steps taken by the Kishi government: firstly, it must cease carrying out a hostile policy towards China; secondly, it must not take part in the "two Chinas" scheme; and thirdly, it must not obstruct the restoration of normal relations between China and Japan. If this is not done, it will also be impossible to resume Sino-Japanese trade.

The Japanese Socialist Party, in accordance with its fundamental policy for the solution of the deadlock in Sino-Japanese relations formulated on September 11 last year, not only fully agrees with the above three principles put forward by the Chinese side, but unequivocally advocates non-recognition of "two Chinas"; holds that the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair; advocates recognition of the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization; and maintains that, to bring about the formal restoration of diplomatic relations between China and Japan, the Japan-Chiang Kai-shek "peace treaty" must first of all be abolished and a peace treaty signed with the People's

Republic of China. The Chinese side welcomes these views of the Japanese Socialist Party.

The Chinese side further points out that the political and economic questions between the two countries cannot be separated. These questions of economics and politics must be negotiated and settled simultaneously. At the present moment, the political question must be given priority. The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation agrees with this.

The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation expresses the deep desire of the Japanese people in demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops stationed in Japan, abolition of military bases, complete recovery of the Japanese territories of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands, after the abolition of the so-called Japan-U.S. "security" system, in order to secure Japan's independence and sovereignty and in demanding the establishment of friendly relations with various countries including China, the Soviet Union and the United States on the basis of the five principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression against each other, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence, and the ten principles of Bandung which developed from the five principles. The Chinese side holds that the achievement of complete independence by Japan and her pursuance of a path of peace and neutrality and not joining any military bloc, not only conform with the national interests of Japan but also benefit peace in Asia and throughout the world. The Chinese people sincerely welcome and support the earliest realization of these aspirations of the Japanese people. The Chinese side declares that Taiwan is China's territory and the U.S. armed forces must withdraw from

Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation deems that this stand of China conforms with the interests of peace in Asia and the rest of the world, and sincerely supports it and hopes that it is realized through peaceful negotiation.

After Japan puts an end to the Japan-U.S. "security" system, achieves complete independence and concludes mutual non-aggression agreements with China and the Soviet Union, then, it can be expected that the military clauses concerning Japan in the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance directed against Japanese militarism will naturally become null and void. Following the conclusion of a collective security treaty between the Asian and Pacific countries, first of all between China, Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States, the neutrality of Japan will be further guaranteed. Both sides have reached a unanimity of views in these matters.

The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation stresses that although diplomatic relations between Japan and China have not yet been resumed and the various forms of exchange between them have been almost completely disrupted since last spring, nevertheless to foster the friendship between the peoples of the two countries and people's diplomacy, friendly contacts and cultural interchanges should be promoted as practical circumstances permit. The Chinese side has concurred in this and agreed to invite friendly Japanese cultural, art, academic, technological, peasants' and workers' delegations to visit China. The Japanese Socialist Party Delegation has conveyed to the Chinese side the desire of the Japanese people to invite Chinese people's delegations to visit Japan. The Chinese side has expressed gratitude for this goodwill shown by the Japanese people and hopes that conditions will soon emerge which will make possible for such visits to be made on invitation.

Both sides are unanimous in holding that the visit of the Japanese Socialist Party Delegation to China in the present circumstances, has made a positive contribution to furthering the development of people's diplomacy between China and Japan. Both sides are convinced that the common aim of the peoples of China and Japan to safeguard world peace and peace in the Far East, resume Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations and promote friendship between the peoples of the two countries is certain to be completely victorious.

Peking, March 17, 1959

The U.S. and Japanese Reactionaries Should Not Be Allowed to Lead Japan onto the Path of War

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(April 16, 1959)

The Japanese people's struggle to oppose the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and to win peace, independence and democracy is now forging ahead at full speed and on a wide scale in all parts of Japan. On April 15, a national conference for preventing the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," representing over 140 organizations, held a "day of nation-wide united action for abrogating the 'Security Treaty' and preventing its revision." Rallies were held, according to plan, simultaneously in various prefectures, localities and work-sites throughout Japan. Workers, students and residents of Tokyo went in groups to demand an interview with the Japanese Prime Minister Kishi. Members of the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan held a big demonstration in the city.

The Japanese people's struggle to prevent the revision of and to abrogate the "Security Treaty" is a continuation of their protracted struggle against U.S. imperialism's occupation of Japan and the revival of Japanese militarism. For more than a decade since the conclusion

of the last war, the Japanese people have carried on their persistent struggles to save themselves from national disaster and rid themselves of their miserable slave-like conditions. Under the slogans of opposing U.S. occupation and the turning of Japan into an American colony and military base, they have organized big demonstrations and collected millions of signatures. Standing hand in hand to form human chains, they succeeded in preventing the Japanese Government from surveying the land, guarding their own land with their blood and lives and defeating the schemes of the U.S. armed forces to extend their bases. These arduous struggles have shown that the Japanese people's determination to win peace, independence and democracy is indestructible, and that they have the firmness and tenacity to carry on until their aims are achieved. The present struggle against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," in which large sections of Japanese population are taking part, has developed on the basis of the protracted struggles in the past. In scale, might and extent, it is unprecedented in post-war Japanese history. In this struggle, not only the broad masses of the Japanese working people, intellectuals and the middle and petty bourgeoisie are taking an active part but also a section of the ruling circles have expressed their dissatisfaction with Kishi's policy of selling out Japan's sovereign rights and national interests. This shows a further strengthening of the unity of the forces of peace, independence and democracy in Japan. In the past few years Japan's patriotic and democratic forces have, through a number of movements, particularly the struggle to oppose "the Police Duties Law Revision Bill" in 1958, fully proved that unity is strength, that the enemy can be defeated only by strengthening unity. The

recent decision of the Japanese Socialist Party and the Japanese Communist Party to take extensive joint action and to establish unity and co-operation is of immense significance to increasing the unity of all patriotic forces and leading the struggle to victory.

U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has stated that the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" was not a philanthropic undertaking and that it was certainly not for the sake of safeguarding Japan's security, but part of the U.S. plan to safeguard its own security. Everyone knows that in the vocabulary of U.S. imperialism, "safeguarding security" is merely a synonym for committing aggression. The Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" was imposed on the Japanese people by the United States in September 1951 when the Korean War was at its height. This treaty, which is aimed at aggression and enslaving the Japanese nation, affirms the U.S. right to station troops in Japan and use bases indefinitely. This American brand of "security" has, since then, made Japan an independent country only in name but a semi-occupied country in fact. At present, the number of U.S. troops stationed in Japan totals 70,000 and there are 101 U.S. military bases including atomic bombing bases. Protected by the "Security Treaty" and the "Administrative Agreement" subsequently concluded, U.S. troops freely trampled on the fundamental human rights of the Japanese people and threatened their lives and security. According to the data published by the Japanese Ministry of Justice, in one year from October 1953 to October 1954 alone, there were 6,465 cases of crime committed by U.S. soldiers and their family members against the Japanese people, and these were only the cases taken up by the Japanese procuracies. In other

words, a case of robbery took place about once every two days; a case of rape by U.S. soldiers occurred once every four days; on the average four Japanese were injured every day by the brutal acts of U.S. soldiers; and three Japanese were wounded or disabled as a result of car accidents caused by U.S. soldiers. The Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" has seriously encroached and trampled upon Japan's territory and sovereignty. The humiliations and persecutions which the Japanese people have suffered from this are too numerous to be described. That is why since its conclusion it has been resolutely opposed by the Japanese people who have firmly demanded that the Japanese Government abrogate it as it has brought humiliation upon their country and impaired its sovereignty.

But the Kishi government which only follows U.S. directions turns a deaf ear to the voice of the broad masses of people demanding the abrogation of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Instead, it steps up its negotiations with the U.S. Government on the revision of the treaty with a view to whitewashing and strengthening this tool for enslaving the Japanese nation. The programme for revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" announced by the Japanese Government and the Liberal-Democratic Party on April 8 made it clear that the Kishi clique is determined to further sell out state sovereignty and national interests as the U.S. demands. According to the programme of the Kishi clique, the revised "Security Treaty" will not change in the least the basic features of the original treaty but will bring Japan further into the U.S. system of military aggression and make Japan an accomplice in U.S. aggression in Asia. As provided in the programme, U.S. troops can make

use of Japan's facilities and areas, thus giving the long-term occupation of Japan by U.S. troops a legitimate sugar-coating. By adopting the tactics of superficially raising Japan to an equal position in the treaty, the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries have involved Japan in still heavier military obligations. The programme states that the United States has the obligation to "protect" Japan and at the same time Japan shall "fulfil the tasks that are Japan's according to the strength of the country and within the provisions of the constitution." The truth of the matter is that the United States wants to foster Japanese militarism, rearm Japan and turn Japan into a U.S. strategic base in the Far East; while Japan wants to strengthen its latent imperialist military power so that it can serve the United States when the latter launches its aggression. "Let Asians fight Asians" is a trick consistently used by U.S. imperialism in carrying out aggression. Particularly after its own forces met with successive failures in the Taiwan Straits area and in the Near and Middle East, the United States is all the more anxious to foster the Japanese militarist forces to play the role of advanced guard while it can withdraw to the second line and extricate itself from an increasingly difficult situation. The Kishi clique, on its part, attempts to rely on U.S. help to revive Japanese militarism, suppress the forces of peace and democracy in Japan, re-establish "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" and to realize its aggressive ambition of expansion against the countries in Southeast Asia. In October 1958 Kishi clamoured for the elimination of the provision for the prohibition of war in the Japanese constitution and advocated that Japan should be able to send troops abroad. These demands have now been conceded

in the treaty provisions in a roundabout way. For example, the Kishi clique provided in the programme that in future Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands are to be included in the areas stipulated in the treaty. Actually this is preparatory to bringing these strategic islands into the northeast Asia aggressive bloc or some larger bloc. For these islands are also included in the applicable areas as provided in the U.S. military pacts with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, the Syngman Rhee clique and the Philippines.

In recent years, with the vigorous development of the people's movement in Japan, the democratic forces in that country have grown considerably. To maintain its reactionary rule, Japanese monopoly capital represented by the Kishi government has gone so far as to collude with U.S. imperialism to suppress the people of its own country. Like the existing "Security Treaty," the programme provides that at the request of the Japanese Government U.S. armed forces can interfere in Japan's internal affairs and suppress the Japanese people's movements, sugar-coating it as assisting in stopping "indirect aggression." Everyone knows that "indirect aggression" is a common term used by U.S. imperialism in its aggression against other countries. In future, unless they obey the United States in everything, the Japanese people can be ruthlessly suppressed on the charge of "indirect aggression," when any word or deed is found disadvantageous to the United States or the Japanese ruling class. In fact, this opens a way for the United States to step up the transformation of Japan into a fascist country and to further interfere in Japan's internal affairs.

The programme for revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" of the Japanese Government and the Liberal-

Democratic Party fully reveals the plot of the Kishi clique to sell out willingly Japan's sovereignty and national interests and become an accomplice of the United States. This programme will more clearly reveal to the Japanese people that if the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries succeed in their schemes the Japanese nation will be dragged onto the road of war and destruction. Only by launching struggles on an ever larger scale can the Japanese people defeat the plots of the U.S. imperialists and the latent imperialist elements in Japan, who are attempting to lead the Japanese people onto the path of war.

The Japanese people oppose the U.S. occupation of Japan and the U.S. turning Japan into its colony and military base. The peoples of Asia also oppose the U.S. using Japan for aggression against Asia and implementing its policy of "letting Asians fight Asians." The Japanese people are, therefore, not isolated in their fight against the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and for its abrogation. The Chinese people and all other peace-loving peoples in Asia will firmly stand by the Japanese people to the very end in the fight for the defence of peace in Asia and the world and for the thorough destruction of the imperialist forces which are committing aggression against Japan and Asia and are endangering the world. The Kishi clique which is willing to serve as a tool of the U.S. policy of aggression and set itself against the Japanese and Asian peoples will certainly have no future. It will be spurned by the broad masses of the Asian people, first of all, by the Japanese people, and will inevitably become the outcast of Asia.

New Upsurge in the Japanese People's Struggle Against the U.S.-Japan Military Alliance and the Nuclear Arming of Japan

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(August 5, 1959)

The Fifth World Conference for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, initiated by the Japanese people, opened formally in Hiroshima today. The major items which the executive body of the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs decided to submit to the Conference on its agenda cover the following: Enforcement of the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen bombs through East-West consultation, prevention of the arming of Japan with nuclear weapons, and problems relating to the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Peace-loving people throughout the world regard the Conference as an important landmark of the constantly rising peace movement in Japan as well as a grand review and militant march of the peace forces of the Japanese people. They therefore place high hopes on it.

Japan is the only country which has suffered the calamity of atomic bombing. The Japanese people, to this very day, bear the disastrous consequences of the aggressive war launched by the Japanese militarists.

They cannot forget that the latter not only brought untold sufferings to other Asian peoples but imposed relentless oppression and exploitation on the people of their own country, and that the war of aggression they unleashed left 2 million orphans and 1,830,000 widows in Japan. Nor can they forget that 14 years ago, in August 1945, the United States dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing hundreds of thousands of Japanese in one frightful moment, or that, more than five years ago, the U.S. testing of hydrogen bombs at Bikini brought new sufferings to the Japanese people. Now, with the blood still undried and the old wounds still unhealed, the people of Japan are again faced with the revival of militarism and the great danger of being plunged into a destructive nuclear war. Japanese and U.S. reactionaries have once more entered into collusion, plotting to impose the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" on the Japanese people. Its fundamental aim is to forge an aggressive military alliance between Japan and the United States, revive Japanese militarism and prepare actively to arm Japan with nuclear weapons and turn her into a U.S. nuclear war base in the Far East.

Taoru Yasui, Chairman of the Japan Council for Prohibiting Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, correctly pointed out: "With the revision of the Security Treaty, nuclear weapons will be shipped into Japan and Japan will be turned into a war base and involved in the war." It can be seen that it is absolutely no accident that the Japanese people are rising against the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and demanding the abrogation of this servile treaty.

Today the struggle, demanding the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs and opposing the revision of the

Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," has become a mass movement of the broadest kind. Japanese people of all social strata, political parties and groups, ideologies and religious beliefs, are gathering day by day, to form a broad united front the aim of which is to struggle for their vital national interests and the right of their children and their children's children to live. Thirty-five million Japanese of all walks of life have signed the demand for banning nuclear weapons. Last June, a strong force of peace marchers left Tokyo, Niigata and Yoron Island (of the Amami-Oshima group) so as to arrive in Hiroshima before the opening of the World Conference for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. On their way they were enthusiastically welcomed by the city, town and village authorities, primary and secondary school pupils, women's organizations and trade unions. The *Kyodo* also regarded these phenomena as signs that the movement for the banning of atomic and hydrogen bombs had struck "deep roots" in Japan. During the same period four popular united actions have been taken to oppose the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." In the fourth, launched on July 25, there were a million participants — in more than 300 cities and towns. The fifth will take place on August 6, in close co-ordination with the convocation of the Hiroshima Conference. These facts show that the Japanese people's struggle for independence, peace and democracy has reached a new pitch. They show that the movement to win peace and oppose nuclear weapons is becoming linked ever more closely with the struggle against a U.S.-Japan military alliance, thus forming a mighty and irresistible torrent.

Notably, none of the previous post-war Japanese governments dared openly to oppose the Japanese people's movement for the banning of the atomic and hydrogen weapons. Now, however, the Kishi cabinet has gone so far as to clash openly with the Fifth World Conference whose convocation it tried hard to prevent from the very beginning. The Japanese press pointed out that the Kishi cabinet had openly interfered with the conference and brought unjust pressures to bear upon it. The Liberal Democrats, the party in power, also directed their local organizations to "watch" the trend of the nuclear ban movement. Local authorities were instructed not to co-operate with the conference. The pretext of the Kishi cabinet and the Liberal-Democratic Party is that the conference is "politically coloured" because it wants to discuss the revision of the "Security Treaty." This only serves to show that the true aim of their intensified effort to revise the treaty is to expedite the arming of Japan with nuclear weapons and to turn her into a U.S. nuclear war base. The unmasking of this plot of the Japanese reactionaries by the movement for banning atomic and hydrogen bombs in Japan is timely. Thus the reactionaries venture to openly take a stand against this movement in a futile attempt to block the development of the struggles of the Japanese people against militarism and the nuclear arming of Japan.

It is clear as daylight that the Kishi cabinet has openly chosen a stand hostile to the Japanese people and is taking a road diametrically against their wishes. The Japanese people want to take the road of national independence and peaceful neutrality and oppose all military alliances of an aggressive nature. The Kishi cabinet, by contrast, is content to be subservient to the United

States, is all for a military alliance with the United States, allows the continued stationing of U.S. troops in Japan, keeps the U.S. military bases there intact, and betrays the right of the Japanese nation to independence. The Japanese people want freedom and democracy and oppose fascism. The Kishi cabinet, by contrast, tries to introduce a series of reactionary laws and decrees (such as the "Police Duties Law" and the "Espionage Law"), intensifies the suppression of the democratic movement and is reviving fascist rule in Japan. The Japanese people aspire to peaceful national economic development and prosperity and oppose the revival of militarism. The Kishi cabinet, by contrast, steps up the revival of militarism, tails after the U.S. policy of arms expansion and war preparations and attempts to embark on imperialist expansion in Southeast Asia. The Japanese people are firmly opposed to nuclear armament, demand a ban on such weapons and support the Soviet proposal for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Far East and the Pacific region. The Kishi cabinet, by contrast, actively prepares for nuclear armament, has actually allowed the U.S. armed forces to ship nuclear weapons into Japan, is drawing Japan into the U.S. nuclear strategic system and is turning her into a U.S. base of aggression for nuclear war in the Far East. The Japanese people demand the establishment and development of friendly relations with China and the Soviet Union. The Kishi cabinet, by contrast, persistently follows the U.S. policy of hostility towards China and the Soviet Union, and especially towards China, by persisting in the scheme to create "two Chinas," and doing its best to obstruct the restoration of normal relations with China. All this shows indisputably that the Kishi

cabinet is the most reactionary of all post-war cabinets in Japan; that it is the most vicious of the instruments the Japanese and U.S. monopolist groups have used since the conclusion of the war to attack the Japanese people.

In the Japanese people's eyes, however, the Kishi government is not as "strong" as the Japanese and U.S. reactionaries make it out to be. On the contrary, it is weak and brittle by its very nature. Its traitorous policy of revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is constantly arousing more powerful popular opposition. Even inside the ruling circles, there are some far-sighted people who realize that certain provisions in the new treaty threaten to involve Japan in war. Precisely because of the pressure of the Japanese masses, and of the contradictions inside the Liberal-Democratic Party, the conclusion of the new "Security Treaty" has been postponed again and again. The Kishi cabinet now plans to appropriate huge sums for a big false publicity campaign for the new "Security Treaty" with the United States, while at the same time intensifying the suppression of popular opposition to the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." But whatever it does, it will never iron out its fundamental contradictions with the Japanese people. Nor can it stop the conflicts between the different factions of the ruling clique. The recent reorganization of the Kishi cabinet was regarded as a bad omen by the leading bourgeois papers in Japan. The Tokyo *Mainichi Shimbun*, for example, noted that the third Kishi cabinet could not be regarded as stable.

The military alliance now being prepared is a reflection of the true relations between the reactionaries of the United States and Japan. They are in collusion, but also try to use each other. U.S. imperialism wants

Japan for a pawn in its aggression in the Far East, and a piece on the chessboard of its nuclear strategy. The Kishi government, on its part, dreams of realizing its latent imperialist ambition—expansion in Southeast Asia through U.S. help. Clearly, if the ambition of the Japanese monopoly groups represented by Kishi is realized this will mean ousting the interests of such old imperialist countries as Britain. For the Southeast Asian countries, it will mean the violation of their national independence and peaceful neutrality. Kishi's latent imperialist policy, therefore, is not only bound to face the firm opposition of the peoples of other Asian countries. It will inevitably cause tension between Japan and other imperialist countries. Kishi's recent visit to Europe failed to allay the struggles, both open and concealed, between Japan and some Western nations. This shows that the Kishi government is also unpopular and becoming more and more isolated in the international arena. Even *Time*, the most reactionary American magazine, has to admit recently that the policy of the Kishi cabinet makes Japan disliked by its neighbours or discounted by the West. Kishi is confronted with "a constant hoarding of rebuffs."

By speeding a military alliance with the United States, the revival of Japanese militarism and the transformation of Japan into a U.S. nuclear war base, the Kishi government can only arrive at a dead end. Its future is not a rosy one. Early in May this year, the Soviet Government sharply warned the Japanese Government to take into full consideration the most serious consequences which the nuclear arming would bring to Japan and its people, and demanded that it estimate coolly what it would mean to a land like Japan, with a

comparatively small territory and dense population, to be involved in an atomic and rocket arms race. The situation in the world and Asia today is entirely different from a decade ago. Kishi's hope to emulate old Japanese militarism is a vain one; it can only lead him up a blind alley.

The U.S. imperialists, naturally, will never slacken their control over Japan. And it is most unlikely that Japan's own reactionary forces will leave the scene voluntarily. Of late, fearing trouble if it is postponed, the United States has been urging the Japanese Government to sign a new bilateral treaty with it. Acting the master, U.S. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur II keeps pressing the Kishi government for an answer and the early conclusion of such a treaty. The Kishi government has been using deceit, bribery, splitting tactics and even open suppression against the people, so as to sign the new treaty, when the time is ripe, against their will and desires. The fight ahead will be very arduous, with many ups and downs. But the Japanese people who have been tempered in many struggles are becoming more politically conscious. Their will to fight is growing with each day. Their aims of struggle too are more clear-cut than ever. The Fifth World Conference for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, defying oppression by the Kishi government, has decided resolutely to discuss opposing to the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." This shows that the Japanese people are raising still higher the banner of struggle against the U.S.-Japan military alliance and against nuclear armament, and are determined to carry on the fight. We are confident that provided the Japanese people continue to strengthen their unity, and persist in struggle to the end, they will certainly defeat the fierce attacks of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, win the final victory, and realize their desires for peace and independence.

The Chinese people, who had suffered greatly from the evils of Japanese militarism and are deeply concerned about peace in Asia and the world, well understand the justified aspirations of the Japanese people for national independence, peace and democracy. They extend wholehearted sympathy and support to the Japanese people in their just struggle. We are fully convinced that those who really determine the fate of Japan are certainly not the handful of reactionaries in that country. They are the millions and millions of the Japanese people, who treasure peace.

Joint Statement by the Communist Parties of China and Japan

(October 20, 1959)

The Delegation of the Communist Party of Japan, headed by Comrade Sanzo Nozaka, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party, came to China on September 26, 1959 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, attended the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China and visited various parts of China.

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, met with the Japanese Communist Party Delegation and they had warm and cordial conversations.

The delegations of the Chinese Communist Party and the Japanese Communist Party held talks in Peking.

Present at the talks were Liu Shao-chi, Chou En-lai, Peng Chen, Wang Chia-hsiang and Liao Cheng-chih from the Chinese Communist Party.

Present at the talks were Sanzo Nozaka, Satomi Hakamada, Koreto Kurahara, Kazuyoshi Sunama and Masao Iwama from the Japanese Communist Party.

The talks proceeded in a fraternal and extremely friendly atmosphere. Both sides reviewed the development of the international situation since the joint statement issued by the Communist Parties of China and Japan in March this year and had further discussions on questions concerning relations between the two countries and the two Parties and reached completely unanimous views.

The delegations of the two Parties unanimously hold that the development of the international situation during the past half year confirms the assessment made in the Joint Statement of the Communist Parties of China and Japan that the forces of socialism and the forces of national independence, peace and democracy prevail increasingly over the forces of imperialism. At present, the countries of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union are accelerating their construction in the economic and cultural fields. The movements for national independence, democracy and freedom in Asia, Africa and Latin America are continuing to surge forward. The struggle in defence of peace and democracy by people throughout the world has also made tremendous progress. It is precisely in these circumstances that the peace policy of the socialist camp is receiving more and more warm support from the people of the world and the position of strength policy of the imperialist camp headed by U.S. imperialism has encountered shameful bankruptcy. The socialist camp is a powerful bastion of peace which cannot be destroyed by any combination of forces of imperialism, and its peace policy will certainly continue to thwart the aggressive acts and the cold war policy of the imperialist camp.

Comrade Khrushchov's recent visit to the United States dealt another heavy blow to the U.S. cold war forces. His visit was a tremendous contribution to the easing of

international tension and to the cause of world peace, and will have positive and far-reaching effects on the development of the international situation in the coming period. The two Parties unanimously support the proposals of the Soviet Union to ease international tension, end the cold war and bring about peaceful coexistence among countries of different social systems as well as its recent proposal for general and complete disarmament.

The delegations of the two Parties continue to stress that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy of the peoples of China and Japan. In the present favourable situation, it is still one of the fundamental tasks of the peoples and the Communist Parties of China and Japan to continue to oppose the war and aggressive policies of the U.S. imperialists and to defend world peace, particularly peace in the Far East. It must be noted that the U.S. war clique is reluctant to face up to the inevitable trend of the international situation and give up its cold war. On the contrary, it has recently been strengthening its military bases abroad and various military treaty organizations, has been continuing its interference in the internal affairs of other countries and carrying out provocations to aggravate international tension. In the Far East, U.S. imperialism and its followers, the Japanese reactionary forces, are continuing to step up the revival of Japanese militarism and are attempting to intensify their control over and plunder of the Japanese people and to strengthen their overt military alliance against China and the Soviet Union through revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." This is a grave menace to peace in the Far East and the whole world.

The Delegation of the Japanese Communist Party points out that in Japan today, the Kishi government, as the agent of monopoly capital, has become a willing tool of U.S. imperialism despite strong opposition by the Japanese people and contrary to Japan's national interests. Recently, it has gone further in an attempt to revise speedily the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," so as to turn Japan once again into a militarist imperialist country, to carry out expansionist activities in the Southeast Asian countries, and threaten the security of China, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To carry out this traitorous policy, the Kishi government is incessantly depriving the Japanese people of their democratic rights. It is the sober estimation of the Japanese Communist Party that should this policy succeed, the Japanese people will once again face the danger of becoming cannon fodder in aggressive war and this will bring unprecedentedly grave disasters to the Japanese people.

The Japanese Communist Party has always held that the path the Japanese people should take is one of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality. In foreign affairs this means Japan should achieve complete national independence, the ending of its foreign military alliance, the withdrawal of foreign troops and military bases in Japan, non-participation in any military blocs and establishing peaceful and friendly relations with all countries; domestically, this means safeguarding the people's democratic rights and the right to a livelihood. The Japanese people's present immediate task of struggle is to prevent the U.S. imperialists and the Kishi government from revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," and further to abolish this treaty. To realize this purpose, the Japa-

nese Communist Party, with full confidence, has always been waging unswerving struggles together with the broad masses, and doing its utmost to unite all patriotic democratic forces headed by the working class and to establish a united front including the Communist Party and the Socialist Party.

The Chinese Communist Party expresses full support for the just stand of the Japanese Communist Party and expresses boundless respect for the heroic struggle of the Japanese Communist Party and the Japanese people. The struggles which the Japanese Communist Party is carrying on to rid Japan of the domination of U.S. imperialism and build up an independent, peaceful, democratic and neutral country prove that it is the resolute defender of the interests of the Japanese nation and people.

The delegations of the Communist Parties of the two countries discussed the question of the present relations between China and Japan. Both sides unanimously hold that U.S. imperialism and its followers, the Japanese reactionary forces, should be held entirely responsible for all the abnormal conditions in the current relations between the two countries. The Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party points out that China was invaded by Japanese imperialism for several decades and the Chinese people suffered untold damage as a result of this foreign aggression. Yet since its founding the Chinese People's Republic has consistently adopted a policy of friendship and goodwill towards the Japanese people. It is the basic principle of China's foreign policy to observe consistently the five principles of peaceful co-existence. China is against all foreign aggression and will never commit aggression against others. Communism is absolutely

incompatible with aggression. The Chinese people hope that the Japanese people will be able to free their country quickly from dependence on the United States and attain full independence. The Chinese people also hope that the historical and traditional friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples will break through all artificial barriers and grow. The delegations of the two Parties unanimously condemn the hostile policy towards China adopted by the Kishi government. If the Japanese Government gives up and changes this reactionary policy, refrains from taking part in the U.S. plot to create "two Chinas" and ceases obstructing the restoration of normal relations between China and Japan, normal trade relations and cultural exchange between the two countries can certainly develop smoothly. The conclusion of a non-aggression treaty following the restoration and development of normal relations between the two countries is the common desire of the peoples of both countries.

The Japanese Communist Party Delegation affirms that the Japanese people fully support the Chinese people in their struggle to liberate their own territory of Taiwan. The Chinese Communist Party Delegation affirms that the Chinese people fully support the Japanese people in their struggle for the restoration of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands.

During their visit in China, the Japanese Communist Party Delegation saw for itself that the Chinese Communist Party, under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, has creatively applied Marxism-Leninism to the reality of China's revolution and construction and developed

Marxism-Leninism. The Communist Party of China, after leading the Chinese people in carrying out socialist revolution on the economic, political and ideological fronts within a very short period, put forth the general line of socialist construction and, relying on the initiative and creativeness of the broad mass of the people to build socialism, effected a great leap forward in the national economy and the establishment of the people's communes throughout China's countryside, and thereby scored great achievements in socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Japanese Communist Party Delegation expresses its admiration for all the achievements made by the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

The delegations of the two Parties hold that defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the Communist ranks is the sacred duty of all Communists. The imperialists are not only resorting to all tricks of sowing discord in an effort to break up the unity of the Communist ranks, but are also using modern revisionists and Trotskyites to step up their attacks on Marxism-Leninism in the field of ideology. Therefore, the struggle against the modern revisionists and Trotskyites must be strengthened in order to defend Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the ranks of the proletariat.

The delegations of the two Parties are convinced that the Japanese Communist Party Delegation's visit to China and the talks between the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties will help strengthen the friendship between the two Parties and also be conducive to the development of friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The peoples of China and Japan and the Communist Parties of the two countries will, together with people the world over, certainly make even greater contributions to the defence of peace in the Far East and the whole world, to the maintenance of national independence of all countries, and to the promotion of the cause of democracy and social progress.

Liu Shao-chi
Head of the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party

Sanzo Nozaka
Head of the Delegation of the Japanese Communist Party

Peking, October 20, 1959

Opposition to the U.S.-Japan Military Alliance and Defence of Peace in the Far East Are the Common Task of the Chinese and Japanese Peoples

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(October 22, 1959)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met with the Delegation of the Communist Party of Japan headed by Comrade Sanzo Nozaka, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, during the Delegation's visit to China, and they had warm and cordial conversations. The delegations of the Chinese Communist Party and the Japanese Communist Party held talks and on October 20 Comrade Liu Shao-chi, Head of the Delegation of the Chinese Communist Party, and Comrade Sanzo Nozaka, Head of the Delegation of the Japanese Communist Party, signed a joint statement of great historic significance on behalf of the Central Committees of the two Parties. The talks between the Communist Parties of China and Japan, as the joint statement points out, will help strengthen the solidarity between the two Parties and develop the traditional friendship between the peoples of China and Japan. The joint efforts of the two peoples in the common struggle against

the policy of war and aggression of American imperialism and its follower, the Japanese reactionary forces, will play a very important role in the defence of world peace, particularly peace in the Far East.

With the aim of lording it over the Far East and enslaving the Japanese people and other peoples in Asia, American imperialism — the most vicious enemy of the people the world over — has since the end of World War II tightened its control over Japan, fostered the growth of Japanese militarism and turned Japan into a U.S. military base. This has seriously impaired the Japanese people's cause of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality and poses a grave threat to peace in the Far East and the world. Recently American imperialism and its follower, the Japanese reactionary forces, have been intensifying their collusion, trying to revise the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," strengthen the overt military alliance between the two countries and set themselves further against the peoples of Japan and Asia. Acting on U.S. instructions, the reactionary forces in Japan are also intensifying their efforts to deprive the Japanese people of their democratic rights, preparing to amend the constitution, working actively for rearmament, including nuclear weapons, and engaging in extensive economic and political expansionist activities under the slogan of "exploiting Southeast Asian resources with U.S. capital and Japanese technique." All this spells calamity for the Japanese people and is a new, serious menace to all peace-loving countries and peoples in Asia and throughout the world. It should arouse the sharp vigilance of the people.

Japan used to be a militarist, imperialist country. Since the end of World War II, the major sectors of Japa-

nese monopoly capital, the basis of imperialism, have developed in new conditions and grown into a traitorous Japanese monopoly grouping which is closely associated with American monopoly capital and subject to its control. With the support of American capital, the capital and production of this monopoly grouping have become even more concentrated than before the war and its control of various important Japanese industries is also stronger than before the war. Although Japanese imperialism lost its colonies as a result of its defeat in the war, the Japanese economy has recovered and grown fairly rapidly in recent years. By last August, Japan's industrial and mining production was 2.7 times the pre-war level, surpassing the peak level during World War II (1944) by 110 per cent. But to date, Japan's export trade has only regained its pre-war level. The contradictions between Japan's production and its market are growing and expanding with each passing day. In these circumstances, Japanese monopoly capital, under the wing of the United States, is seeking to increase its export of capital by hook or by crook so as to build up and expand its position in the rivalry for sources of raw material and markets. The domination of the financial magnates in Japan, through the merger of the monopoly organizations with the state power, is now more direct and overt than at any other time in the past. Nobusuke Kishi and his government are the representatives of this traitorous Japanese monopoly grouping. All this points to the fact that, with the support and protection of the United States, the Japanese reactionary forces are attempting to turn Japan again into a militarist, imperialist country.

The reactionary domestic and foreign policy pursued by the Kishi government is the product of Japan's subordination to the United States on the one hand and its alliance with the latter on the other. As far as American imperialism is concerned, a militarist Japan under its control is its principal accomplice and the largest military base for U.S. aggression in Asia. This role of Japan was fully evinced in the U.S. war of aggression against Korea. The occupation organs of the United States were withdrawn from Japan after the U.S.-created unilateral San Francisco peace treaty came into force in April 1952. But through the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," signed simultaneously with the San Francisco peace treaty, and a series of other agreements, the United States still keeps Japan on a semi-occupation status both politically and militarily. The United States continues to station its troops in Japan, its military bases are spread all over Japan, and the Japanese territory of Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands is still under U.S. control. The United States is also maintaining its economic control over Japan by granting the latter loans and placing military orders, through trade and the activities of private U.S. capital in Japan. The decadent culture and way of life of the U.S. imperialists which have found their way to U.S.-controlled Japan too are corrupting the Japanese people. All this inevitably brings about Japan's subordination to the United States in the U.S.-Japan alliance. On the other hand, although Japan is a vanquished country, it is not an economically backward country but an economically well-developed capitalist country. To carry out its aggression in Asia, American imperialism finds it necessary to make use of Japan's industrial capacity and military potential, to make Japan

its cat's-paw and to drive Japan into forming an alliance with the United States, with Japan in a subordinate position. As far as the Japanese side is concerned, the Japanese reactionary forces also fondly hope to make use of U.S. strength and rely on the alliance with the United States, marked by Japan's subordination to the latter, to revive the old dream of "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." Although the alliance between these two imperialist countries is beset with contradictions which will grow ever sharper in the future, they are at present trailing the same track like beavers of the same mound. The United States, the predominant partner in the alliance, is the most aggressive imperialist country, while the traitorous Japanese monopoly grouping, as a subordinate, is making every effort to enable Japanese imperialism to rise again through the revival of Japanese militarism. Both oppose China and the Soviet Union, but the spearhead of their reactionary policies is turned first of all to oppress and plunder the Japanese people and at the same time make the nationalist countries in Asia, former victims of Japanese imperialist aggression, their principal targets of aggression and expansion. The U.S.-Japan alliance of today is obviously different from the fascist alliance between Japan and Germany during World War II. Although both alliances are extremely reactionary in character, the U.S.-Japan alliance of today, as far as the Japanese side is concerned, is marked by Japan's subordination to the United States.

The U.S. imperialists and their follower, the Japanese reactionary forces, are hastening to revise the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" as a step to strengthen this reactionary alliance. To mislead the public and to cover up their own dirty designs, the Japanese reactionaries allege that

a revised Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" will place Japan on an equal footing with the United States and will make the United States a partner in their efforts to ward off the so-called communist threat from the Soviet Union and China. It is universal knowledge that no "equality" whatsoever exists between the United States, the master, and Nobusuke Kishi, the subordinate, and his ilk. This "equality" played up by Kishi and his like is nothing but a smokescreen to cover up their reactionary policy of betraying the national interests and to camouflage their imperialist ambitions. As to the alleged "communist threat," Kishi and all his ilk know that in modern history, it was invariably Japan which invaded the Soviet Union and China, and not vice versa. As far as the Soviet Union and China are concerned, Japanese imperialism was the ringleader responsible for heinous crimes of aggression. As socialist countries, the Soviet Union and China will never permit invasion by others and will never invade others. Both the Soviet Union and China have established the socialist system, eliminated all the systems of exploitation and accordingly eliminated the social foundation for aggression abroad. Communism is totally incompatible with aggression. In their relations with Japan, the Soviet Union and China have always taken the stand of letting by-gones be by-gones. They want to co-exist in peace with Japan in spite of their different social systems, and are ready to sign separate non-aggression treaties or a joint peace convention with Japan on the basis of normal relations. The Soviet and Chinese policy towards Japan, a policy aiming at safeguarding peace in the Far East and the world, is evident to everybody. The so-called communist menace has always been a smokescreen of the imperialists

for their aggression. This is nothing new. It was used when Japan, Germany and Italy formed an alliance and started the fascist war of aggression and was exposed long ago. Today, when the Japanese forces of reaction sing the old tune, it is of course more difficult for them to fool the people. Since October of last year, the Japanese people have waged large-scale struggles against the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," for the abolition of the treaty and against the revival of Japanese militarism. This shows that the Japanese people know clearly that if the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are allowed to carry out their plots and Japanese imperialism is revived, the people in Japan will again become cannon fodder and be thrown into unprecedented catastrophe.

As the joint statement points out, the Japanese Communist Party has always held that the path of the Japanese people should be one of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality. This means that in its foreign relations Japan should achieve complete national independence, abolish its foreign military alliance, remove the U.S. armed forces and their military bases in Japan, and recover Okinawa and the Ogasawara Islands from American hands; and domestically, safeguard democratic freedoms and improve the livelihood of the Japanese people. The immediate, urgent task of struggle of the Japanese people is to prevent the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" by U.S. imperialism and the Kishi government and, further, to abolish it. It is obvious that building Japan into a country of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality is a historical stage which cannot be skipped over in the revolution of the Japanese people. At this historical stage, the Japanese proletariat and its vanguard are holding high

the banner of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality, rallying all the patriotic democratic forces into a broad united front headed by the working class and including the Communist and Socialist Parties, to wage a serious struggle against U.S. imperialism and its follower, the reactionary forces of Japan. It is by no means easy to realize the task of this historical phase, which has to undergo a long, serious revolutionary struggle. To think that this historical phase can be bypassed and that the task of the Japanese people at the present historical phase is not one of freeing Japan from U.S. control, realizing complete national independence for Japan and establishing a peaceful, independent, democratic and neutral Japan, is to divorce the Japanese proletariat and its vanguard from reality, from the masses and place them in an isolated position in the face of the strong enemy. This way of doing things is welcomed by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. Marxist-Leninists adhere to the theory of revolutionary development by stages and, at the same time, the theory of uninterrupted revolution; they must see not only the distinction between the democratic revolution and socialist revolution but also the connections between these two revolutions. The present revolutionary line adopted by the Japanese Communist Party is a concrete expression of the integration of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Japanese revolution. The Chinese Communist Party expresses its full support for the just stand of the Japanese Communist Party and its highest esteem for the heroic struggle being waged by the latter together with the Japanese people. As the joint statement points out, the struggle waged by the Japanese Communist Party for a peaceful, independent,

democratic and neutral Japan shows that it is the staunchest defender of the interests of the Japanese nation and people.

The Chinese people suffered from aggression by Japanese and U.S. imperialism for many years. U.S. imperialism is now the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. The Chinese people, like the Japanese people, will never tolerate the collusion of the U.S. and Japanese imperialists and the rabid attempts of the Japanese militarists to bring about the resurrection of Japanese imperialism by relying on the U.S.-Japan alliance. Fourteen years have elapsed since the end of Japan's war of aggression against China. But normal relations between the two countries have still not been restored, nor has the state of war been declared ended. A peace treaty has yet to be signed between the two countries. This abnormal situation is entirely the outcome of the hostile policy towards China adopted by U.S. imperialism and its follower, the Japanese reactionary forces. Ever since its founding, the Chinese People's Republic has all along adopted a friendly attitude towards the Japanese people, has been ready to establish normal relations with Japan on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, and together with the Japanese people has worked for the ending of the state of war between China and Japan, restoring diplomatic relations and concluding a peace treaty and a non-aggression pact between the two countries. The Chinese people and Government have exerted every possible effort in this regard. But the Kishi government of Japan has persistently and increasingly pursued the reactionary policy of hostility to China, taking part in the U.S. plot to create "two Chinas" and obstructing the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. The wishful thinking of Kishi is: on the one hand, by taking a hostile attitude towards China, he hopes that one day Japan will become a vanguard of U.S. aggression in the Far East, while on the other he wants to trade with China to obtain economic gains so as to strengthen his reactionary rule. Kishi attempts to make this reactionary policy towards China a component part of the general policy to revive Japanese militarism and Japanese imperialism. Normal relations between China and Japan will be out of the question as long as the reactionary Japanese forces persist in this policy. This is against the common wishes of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Only when the Japanese Government gives up and changes its hostile policy towards China, refrains from taking part in the U.S. plot to create "two Chinas" and ceases obstructing the normalization of the relations between China and Japan can normal trade relations and cultural exchange between the two countries develop smoothly and the historical traditional friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples further flourish.

The joint statement of the Chinese and Japanese Communist Parties fully reflects the common aspirations of the peoples of these two countries. It also amply shows the mutual sympathy and support between these two peoples. An important aspect in the development of the current world situation, as noted in the joint statement, is the serious threat posed to the peoples of Asia and elsewhere by the policies of war and aggression of the U.S. imperialists and their follower, the reactionary forces of Japan. To oppose the U.S.-Japan military alliance and defend peace in the Far East and the world is the common task of the peoples of Asia and other parts

of the world, and above all the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Because the Japanese people are so placed as to bear the brunt of the attack, they are shouldering especially heavy tasks in this common struggle. It is our belief that the scheme to revive Japanese militarist imperialism with U.S. backing will never succeed. The future of the Japanese people is full of brightness and hope. They will decidedly be able to take the path of peace, independence, democracy and neutrality. The day will come when U.S. imperialism will be driven out of Japan by the Japanese people, and the policy pursued by the Japanese reactionary forces will go completely bankrupt. Together with all other peoples in the world, the Chinese and Japanese peoples will achieve brilliant successes in the cause of defending peace in the Far East and the world, upholding the national independence of the various countries and promoting human progress.

Joint Statement by the China Peace Committee and Six Other Chinese Organizations and the Japanese Delegation of Various Circles to Celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China (Excerpts)

(October 21, 1959)

At the time of an upsurge in the Japanese people's national movement to restore Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations, to oppose revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and to abolish this treaty entirely — a movement which is being developed with great enthusiasm — more than seventy people's organizations in Japan elected a thirty-man Delegation of Various Circles to Celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China to attend the celebrations in China. The thirty members of the delegation are: Tetsu Katayama, Tadayoshi Obata, Bon Shiraishi, Masato Honda, Sataro Murayama, Kikue Yamakawa, Hajime Mishima, Tadashi Senda, Seimin Miyazaki, Yoshio Hino, Shinobu Tabata, Tomie Maekawa, Koichi Ono, Hirofumi Taman, Shinji Kitagawa, Kiyoshi Sakuma, Yoichiro Kanbayashi, Susumu Fujita, Shinjiro Kozaka, Takashi Kanedaka, Kokuya Hayashi, Fukumitsu Nakamura, Kyotoku Nakano, Kazuo Aimi, Toyohiko Kawamura, Norio Shirato,

Sukio Iwatare, Koji Tabata, Rikio Omi and Shinichi Kato. Former Japanese Prime Minister Tetsu Katayama is the head of the delegation, and Tadayoshi Obata, Bon Shiraishi and Masato Honda are deputy heads of the delegation. The delegation arrived in Peking on September 27, 1959.

After attending the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Republic, the delegation went on friendly visits and sight-seeing tours to Northeast, Northwest and Southwest China, in addition to Peking. It saw the outstanding achievements of China's big leap forward in building socialism and the great people's commune movement and ascertained that China is establishing the foundations of socialism.

During their stay in Peking, the head and deputy heads of the delegation called on Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi, and held cordial talks with Premier Chou En-lai in a friendly atmosphere.

The delegation had a full exchange of views with Kuo Mo-jo, Liu Ning-I, Liao Cheng-chih, Li Teh-chuan, Chang Hsi-jo, Chu Tu-nan and Liu Hsi-yuan, leading members of seven Chinese people's organizations, on questions of world peace, peaceful co-existence, Sino-Japanese friendship and the promotion of the exchange of delegates and cultural exchange between the peoples of China and Japan. The seven Chinese people's organizations are: the China Peace Committee, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the China Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Chinese People's Association for

Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, and the All-China Youth Federation.

The Chinese and Japanese sides reached unanimity of views on the following questions.

The two sides unanimously maintain that the peoples of China and Japan, basing themselves on the spirit of the five principles of peaceful co-existence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, should promote the establishment of normal relations between China and Japan, realize peaceful co-existence between China and Japan and join hands with each other and contribute to dispelling the dark clouds of cold war hanging over the world, to the prevention in good time of the danger of a war of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and to the maintenance of peace in the Far East and the rest of the world. To realize the above-mentioned aims, the Japanese side declares that the Japanese people must rely on their own efforts to make the Japanese Government shake off U.S. control, prevent the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and further strive for its abolition, bring about the withdrawal of the U.S. troops stationed in Japan and the abolition of all military bases on Japanese territory and realize Japan's complete independence, democracy and freedom, and lasting peace and neutrality. Such a movement is now developing in strength in Japan.

The Chinese side declares that the Chinese people fully understand the desire of the Japanese people to struggle for Japan's complete independence, democracy and freedom, lasting peace and neutrality and their movement to oppose the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and demand its abolition. The Chinese side points out that to ease the tension in the Far East, U.S. troops must withdraw completely from the Taiwan area and

that the liberation of Taiwan is entirely China's internal affair. The Japanese delegation declares that this stand of the Chinese side conforms to the interests of maintaining peace in the Far East and the rest of the world. The Japanese people understand with sympathy the desire of the Chinese people to realize the complete unification of their motherland.

The two sides unanimously affirm that there are long-standing, historical ties between China and Japan; that the peoples of the two countries have a common desire to establish friendly good neighbour relations, to realize lasting peaceful co-existence and bring about the smooth development of economic and cultural exchange between the two peoples. The Japanese delegation states that in order to fulfil the above-mentioned common aspirations, continuous efforts must be made to frustrate the Kishi government's policy of hostility towards China and its scheme to create "two Chinas" and declares itself ready to remove every artificial barrier to the promotion of an early restoration of normal relations between Japan and China.

. . . . . .

The two sides are unanimous in considering that the visit to China of the Japanese Delegation of Various Circles to Celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China has made a valuable contribution to promoting the growth of friendly ties between the peoples of China and Japan and to their mutual understanding.

(Signed):

KUO MO-JO, *Chairman of the China Peace Committee*

LIU NING-I, *President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions*

LIAO CHENG-CHIH, *Chairman of the China Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity*

TSAI CHANG, *President of the National Women's Federation of the People's Republic of China*

CHANG HSI-JO, *President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs*

CHU TU-NAN, *President of the Chinese People's Association for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries*

LIU HSI-YUAN, *Chairman of the All-China Youth Federation*

TETSU KATAYAMA, *Head of the Japanese Delegation of Various Circles to Celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China*

TADAYOSHI OBATA, BON SHIRAISHI, and MASATO HONDA, *Deputy Heads of the Japanese Delegation*

Peking, October 21, 1959

Japan Is Being Dragged onto the Road of the Revival of Militarism

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(November 27, 1959)

Disregarding the strong opposition of the broad masses of the Japanese people, the Kishi government of Japan has openly declared that it is prepared to conclude a new "security treaty" with the United States in the middle of January next year, that is, to formally conclude a Japan-U.S. military alliance of an aggressive nature. Japanese Foreign Minister Aiichiro Fujiyama made a most barefaced confession of this a few days ago. At a special session of the Diet he openly clamoured that the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" would cover the area north of the Philippines, the coastal areas of China and the maritime territory of the Soviet Union, with Japan as the centre. He stressed in particular that the area of operations of the United States forces in Japan might extend to the interior of China or the Soviet Union and openly declared that negotiations were being held with the United States on the shipping into Japan of important military equipment, including nuclear weapons.

These outcries of Fujiyama's fully expose the plot of the United States and Japanese reactionaries to carry on military collusion, revive Japanese militarism, antagonize China and the Soviet Union, expand to Southeast Asia and plan for a new war in the Far East.

Ever since the day the United States and the Kishi government prepared to revise the "Security Treaty," we have time and again issued warnings pointing out the aggressive nature of this treaty and the threat it will pose to China, the Soviet Union, the Southeast Asian countries, and to the peace and security of the Far East and Asia. But hitherto there were still people in Japan and other countries who were not fully convinced of this. Now Fujiyama has confessed of his own accord. The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries have extended the scope of "security" and "defence" to the "area north of the Philippines, the coastal areas of China and the maritime territory of the Soviet Union." They have even gone so far as to extend it to include the interior of China and the Soviet Union. Apart from aggression and expansion, can there be any other reason to extend the sphere of the "defence" of one's own country to the territory of others? In fact such fallacies are by no means new to us. Has not the United States openly declared that the Western Pacific is its front line of defence? Did not the Japanese militarists declare more than twenty years ago when it started the war against China and later during the war of the Pacific that China, East Asia and the Pacific were Japan's lifeline? Thus, the situation is clear and there should be no further doubts about the aggressive nature of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" that is to be revised in the near future.

Contrary to what the United States has claimed, the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is not a treaty negotiated between "two equal partners" but a product of conspiracy and mutual utilization between the master,

U.S. imperialism, and the servant, the Japanese monopoly capitalist groupings represented by Kishi.

Under the attack of the forces of peace throughout the world, the policy of aggression and expansion pursued by U.S. imperialism has during recent years suffered repeated defeats, thus placing U.S. imperialism in an increasingly isolated position. For the purpose of putting an end to its political isolation and strategic predicament, it has been making some gestures for peace and relaxation of tension in an attempt to deceive the American people, dampen the fighting spirit of the people of the world against imperialism and for peace, and conceal its moves for stepping up its arms drive in preparation for war. Militarily, U.S. imperialism has reduced its production of conventional weapons, while concentrating its efforts on increasing the production of missiles, expanding missile bases and actively fostering the revival of militarism in West Germany and Japan in a vain attempt to restore its lost military superiority and improve its strategic position. In the eyes of the United States imperialists, Japan is their ideal tool for launching aggression and expansion and preparing for an atomic war in the East. It is precisely because of this that the United States has never slackened its control over Japan since the end of the Second World War. Meanwhile, the United States itself is fully aware that the Japanese people are extremely dissatisfied with its occupation of their country. In order to deceive the Japanese people, and dampen the Japanese people's anti-U.S. struggle, it must give Japan some nominal independence. Therefore, it is anxious to present Japan as an "equal partner" by concluding a new "security treaty," in order to hasten the revival of Japanese militarism, fasten Japan more tightly

to the U.S. chariot of war and make it an atomic base and accomplice for U.S. aggression and expansion in the Far East, to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the United States.

On the other hand, there is a deep-rooted historical and social reason for the monopoly capital clique of Japan to take the road of militarism. Japan used to be an imperialist power which drew its strength from militarism. Japanese monopoly capital, the economic base of militarism, was not destroyed after the Second World War. On the contrary, it has rapidly recovered and greatly developed under the protection and patronage of U.S. imperialism and the stimulation of the Korean War. By August this year the output of industrial and mining enterprises in Japan was 2.7 times the pre-war level. Under such circumstances, the monopoly capital of Japan by its very nature does not seek to resolve the difficulties caused by its own expansion by engaging in peaceful production and developing trade or economic relations with other countries in Asia and Africa on the basis of equality and mutual benefit; but tries to find a way out by expanding arms production and making its way into foreign countries. In the eyes of the Japanese monopoly capitalists, only the road of militarism can bring huge profits to the arms industry, lead them to foreign expansion and open up foreign markets for them. Tatsuzo Ishikawa, a noted Japanese writer, has well said that the reason why the monopoly capitalists of Japan are so anxious to revise the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is because the vigorous revival of militarism in Japan with the support of the United States will enable the iron and steel and chemical industries of Japan to make huge profits and because the import of nuclear weapons into Japan

and the turning of Japan into a base of atomic war will provide a market for its surplus semi-conductors. As a matter of fact, recent years have seen a great development of the Japanese arms industry. Jet planes, artillery, tanks, destroyers and submarines are being hastily turned out in large quantities. The fire power of the so-called "self-defence corps" of Japan is already more than five times as great as that of the pre-war Japanese army. All this serves to show that Japan is being dragged onto the road of reviving militarism. If the new Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is signed, then Japan will be placed within the U.S. orbit of war. It is only too obvious that Japan would be led once again onto the path of war and aggression.

What will come of the reactionary policy of the Japanese monopoly clique represented by Kishi? The first direct victims will be the Japanese people, for it is obvious that expansion of the Japanese arms industry will unquestionably lead to a recession in industry for peaceful purposes. Unemployment in Japan is still mounting and there is not the least sign of a turn for the better. Once the manufacture of arms begins in a big way, the heavy burden of arms expenditure will inevitably fall on the shoulders of the Japanese people. At the same time, to remove obstacles on its road to arms expansion and aggression, the Japanese monopoly clique will inevitably further deprive the Japanese people of their democratic rights, revive the dictatorial rule of militarism and launch an attack on the Japanese people. More serious is the fact that, in accordance with the revised Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," Japan will be tied down by the United States as its nuclear war base in the Far East and Asia. What has been revealed by the talks between the Kishi government and the United States concerning the revision of the "Security Treaty" indicates that the United States, in the name of "safeguarding the security of Japan or the Far East," will use Japan as its military base for dispatching its aggressive troops to any place it deems necessary. In that event, Japan will have to shoulder responsibilities for the war operations of the United States and the Japanese people will inevitably become victims of a nuclear war. The Japanese people who encountered such heavy calamities in the war against China and in the Pacific War will be dragged into the abyss of a nuclear war by United States imperialism. Should this intrigue of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries be carried through, the Japanese people will have to bear consequences thousands of times more disastrous than in the previous war. This is something the Japanese people could never tolerate.

The policy of the reactionaries of Japan and the United States has always been hostile to China and the Soviet Union. The spearhead of their military alliance is, of course, mainly directed against these two countries and this was clearly stated in the talk by Fujiyama on November 16. However, the Japanese reactionaries will have to ponder over the consequences entailed by an aggression against these two powerful countries. History has also shown that the aggressive expansion of all militarists is always primarily spearheaded against places which they believe are comparatively weak. In fact, the Japanese monopoly clique has always kept a covetous eye on the rich resources of the countries in Southeast Asia and recently has made no bones of its designs for economic, political and military expansion in that area. This year the Japanese Foreign Ministry has worked out a long-

term programme for economic expansion under the name of "new economic diplomacy," the main content of which is to realize "an agricultural Southeast Asia and an industrial Japan" by adopting the method of combining "indemnities" with "economic aid." Japan and the United States are now actively working hand in glove to dump surplus industrial goods in the various Southeast Asian countries and to plunder their resources. Japan recently sent a large body of military personnel to South Vietnam to help set up and expand naval bases and build arsenals. It is manufacturing military planes for the Philippines and has sent air force personnel there to work as instructors. All this fully bears out the fact that the aggressive spearhead of Japanese militarism is in the first place directed against the Southeast Asian countries. But the awakened peoples in Southeast Asia know how to safeguard their independence and sovereignty. They will never allow Japanese monopoly capital to have its way.

It is clear that the reactionary policy of the Japanese monopoly clique represented by Kishi of entering into military conspiracy with the United States and reviving militarism will not bring any good to Japan but will only lead Japan to war and cause it to suffer still greater disasters than it did in the previous war. The broad masses of Japanese people resolutely want to take the path of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, because this is the only bright path for Japan. This is why the Japanese people's struggle against the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" is now becoming daily more widespread and intensive. The Chinese people have always regarded U.S. imperialism as the common enemy of the peoples of China and Japan and have always extended their profound sympathy and support to this just struggle of the Japanese people. The struggle of the Japanese people in the face of this most ferocious enemy is very hard indeed. We are, however, convinced that the heroic Japanese people will be able to overcome all the difficulties and win final victory.

Japanese and U.S. Reactionaries Are Actively Reviving Japanese Militarism

Commentary by a Correspondent
of the Hsinhua News Agency

(December 7, 1959)

On December 8, 1941, the Japanese militarists, relying on the military alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy, launched the Pacific War. This war brought incalculable losses of lives and property to the Asian people; it also threw the Japanese people into an abyss of miseries never known before, causing 2 million Japanese youths and adults to be killed or maimed in battle. After the defeat and surrender of the Japanese militarists in 1945, the U.S. military occupation deprived Japan of its national independence and subjected the country to a degree of humiliation never known before in its history.

But the Japanese militarists have failed to learn a lesson from history. Today, 18 years after their unleashing of the Pacific War, they are, through the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," again concluding an aggressive military alliance with the U.S. imperialists. Under this new military alliance Japan, with U.S. backing, will openly expand its armed forces and carry out nuclear armament, thus being dragged into a U.S. expansionist adventure which, though opposed to the Soviet Union and China, has its spearhead aimed mainly against the people of the Southeast Asian countries. This new situation cannot but arouse the serious vigilance of the Asian people who have suffered severely from Japanese imperialism.

According to the Potsdam Declaration and the Japanese Constitution Japan is not allowed to possess the means of war and must become a peaceful country. But after the war the U.S. imperialists and Japanese militarists flagrantly violated the Potsdam Declaration and the Japanese Constitution, and gradually revived the armed strength of Japanese militarism. Soon after the outbreak of the Korean War, a Japanese "Police Reserve Corps" was formed in accordance with an order of the U.S. occupationist Douglas MacArthur; this later became the present "Self-Defence Forces" which have developed into a modernized army. At present the Japanese ground, naval and air forces, which pass under the name of "Self-Defence Forces," amount to 251,000 men, possessing 404 warships and 1,194 planes. The fire power of each territorial corps (division) of the "Self-Defence Forces" has been increased to seven or eight times that of one of Japan's divisions at the time it invaded Northeast China. At the same time as Japan and the United States are planning to conclude a new military alliance, the Japanese militarists have begun to carry out a second plan of arms expansion (1960-1965) with nuclear armament as the core. According to this plan the Japanese army will be gradually reorganized into a "pantomic" force. It will be equipped with the ground-to-ground guided missiles "Corporal" and "Little John," and the anti-tank guided missile "Dart." Its navy will be equipped with destroyers capable of launching guided missiles. Its air force will be

equipped with the guided missiles "Eagle," "Nike," and "Bomarc." It will also be equipped, before the year 1965, with jet fighter planes of the Lockheed F-104C type which can be installed with "Sidewinders." In the course of gradually arming Japan with nuclear weapons the Kishi government has, on November 7 this year, brought into Japan 14 "Sidewinders." It has also decided to purchase next year an additional 180 guided missiles of this type. Subsequently, on December 4, it openly formed the first "rocket training team" to train the key personnel for handling nuclear weapons like guided missiles.

Apart from a regular army of 250,000 Japan now has a police force of 130,000, far in excess of the number of police in Japan before its surrender, which was 56,000. Besides this, Japan now has over 200 war veterans' organizations in various parts of the country. Among them the Federation of Veterans, under the leadership of Yasuji Okamura, a war criminal in the invasion of China, has a membership of one and a half million. These war veteran organizations frantically promote militarism; they advocate the revision of the Constitution and the carrying out of nuclear armament. Japan's big police force and fascist ex-servicemen's organizations have become the nucleus and reserve force for suppressing the Japanese people who demand peace and for the further restoration of militarism.

At the same time, Japan's military supply industries, in the course of serving the war policy of the United States, have been basically restored. As early as during the Korean War Japan's capacity for producing ammunition and light arms had far exceeded the needs of the Japanese armed forces for peace-time training and equip-

ment renewal. During this time the Japanese military supply industries provided the U.S. aggressive forces in Korea with arms, ammunition and other military supplies valued at more than 1,330 million U.S. dollars. After the Korean armistice the monopoly capitalists of the Japanese military supply industries put forward the slogan "Home-made weapons for the Japanese armed forces" with a view to furthering the increase of arms and seeking an outlet for the military supply industries which had fattened on war profits. Under such conditions the Japanese military supply industries, from 1956, began to produce military aircraft. Now 25 big companies are turning them out in large quantities. Twelve of the 27 shipyards building warships in pre-war days have resumed production. The monopoly groups of Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Kawasake and Fuji are also stepping up the trial production of various kinds of guided missiles. Especially noteworthy is the fact that the U.S. and Japanese monopoly capitalists are brewing a new plan to make Japan the "arsenal for Southeast Asia." According to this plan all Japanese repayments for the 2,000-million-dollar U.S. "aid" to Japan in the early post-war years will be used to buy Japanese arms to supply the SEATO countries. The rapidly expanding Japanese military supply industries have become the material foundation for the further restoration of Japanese militarism and for the carrying out of aggression and expansion.

To freely revive militarism the Japanese ruling clique is strengthening its fascist rule and secretly planning to revise the Constitution which forbids Japan to have the power to make war and does not recognize the right of belligerency of the state. The Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi openly clamoured that "the Con-

stitution must be revised because it prevents us from sending troops abroad." For this reason, the Kishi clique is trying to carry out the small constituency system and secretly planning to secure, in the coming general elections, the two-third majority in the Diet necessary for the revision of the Constitution. The Kishi government has been and is still trying to railroad through the Diet bills such as the "Police Duties Law," "Espionage Law," and "National Secrets Protection Law," trying thereby to deprive the people of all their freedom and democratic rights and to give itself free rein in arms expansion and war preparations. Recently it even went so far as to draw up plans for forbidding the people to hold petition parades in the vicinity of the Diet and law courts.

The Japanese reactionaries are also trying to revive education in militarism, so as to indoctrinate the Japanese people with a militarist ideology. As early as September 1950 the primary and secondary schools of Japan had already begun to adopt a series of measures with a view to carrying out education in the militarist ideology of "respect the Emperor." The Japanese ruling clique also changed, in July 1956, the system of public election with regard to the local educational committees to a system of appointment, and carried out the system of censoring textbooks. In 1957 it carried out, with regard to the teachers and staff members of the schools, a system of "work evaluation" and, within the schools, the so-called "ethical education" which is essentially militarist education. This is not all. Japan has also produced and shown a large number of films advocating war, such as the "Great War of East Asia," "Emperor Meiji and the Japanese-Russian War," and so forth, thus

greatly propagandizing militarism. In April this year the notorious pro-U.S. element Yoshida, former Prime Minister of Japan, and others even went so far as to erect in the famous spa district in west Tokyo monuments for Tojo and other war criminals who launched the Pacific War.

At present, monopoly capital, the base of Japanese imperialism, is more powerful and concentrated than before the war. The production level of Japan is now three times as great as that of the pre-war days. But the level of consumption in the home market has increased by only 18 per cent and the volume of foreign trade by 21 per cent over pre-war days. Under the conditions of the rapid growth of Japanese monopoly capital and the daily increasing basic contradiction between production and consumption, Taizo Ishizaka, President of Japan's Federation of Economic Organizations, openly declared that they can no longer reconcile themselves to the present situation in which they have no special rights and interests in the various Southeast Asian countries. Itoji Muto, President of the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company, said: "After the Japanese-Ching Dynasty and Japanese-Russian wars and the First World War, Japan gained new, exclusive markets. For this reason Japanese production made conspicuous progress. This experience in the past must be applied effectively." Banboku Ono, Vice-President of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Japan, openly clamoured for the formation of a "United States of Japan which will include Taiwan and Korea." The clamourings of these representatives of Japanese monopoly capital show that the Japanese monopoly capitalists are exceedingly anxious to revive militarism by relying on the U.S. forces

of war and to serve as an accomplice of the U.S. in any war of aggression it wages in the Far East.

But it must be pointed out that the present situation in Asia and the world is quite different from that which existed when the Japanese militarists launched the Pacific War. The peace and democratic forces of the world with the socialist camp as their mainstay have already got the upper hand over the forces of the imperialist camp. The Japanese people, whose political consciousness is growing every day, are resolutely waging a struggle for peace, democracy, independence and neutrality. If the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and the Japanese militarist elements dare to launch a new war of aggression they are surely doomed to destruction.

Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China Concerning the Conclusion of a Treaty of Military Alliance Between Japan and the United States

(January 14, 1960)

Disregarding the firm opposition of the Japanese people and the repeated warnings of the Chinese people and other peace-loving peoples of the world, the Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi has decided to go to the United States on January 16 and, on the 19th, under the pretext of revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," to sign in Washington a Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance with the U.S. Government. This is an extremely grave step taken by the Japanese reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists colluding to prepare new aggressions and war and menace Asian and world peace.

The Chinese people have always been concerned about the Japanese people's struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality and against the revival of Japanese militarism. Since Nobusuke Kishi came to power, the Chinese Government has moreover continually pointed out the danger of the Japanese reactionaries vigorously reviving Japanese militarism and resorting to expansion overseas with the backing of U.S. imperialism. Now, the Chinese Government cannot but point out solemnly that this danger has become a real one. The

signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance signifies the revival of Japanese militarism and Japan's open participation in the aggressive U.S. military bloc. This cannot but arouse the keen vigilance of the peoples of the Asian countries.

To prevent the revival of Japanese militarism and recurrence of Japanese aggression, a series of international agreements were concluded by the allied countries during the Second World War and following the Japanese surrender. The U.S. Government is under obligation to abide by these agreements. The U.S.-Japanese treaty of military alliance completely contravenes these solemn international agreements.

Thanks to the joint efforts of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries and peoples, there has been a certain relaxation in the present international situation. The U.S. ruling group also talks peace and has repeatedly made gestures as if it were willing to ease international tension. But it is at this very juncture that the United States is going to conclude a treaty of military alliance with Japan. This proves once again that the United States aims at aggression and war, while its pronouncements for relaxation and peace are merely a camouflage for its war preparations.

The Government of the People's Republic of China is firmly opposed to the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. We believe that the Japanese people will carry on their resolute and unremitting struggle and exert efforts to frustrate the schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. Times have changed. No matter how frenzied the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries may get, their criminal schemes to enslave the Japanese people and menace the Asian peoples are doomed to failure.

Firmly Oppose the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(January 15, 1960)

The Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi has decided to visit the United States on the 16th of this month and, under the name of revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," to sign a Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance with the U.S. Government. This is an event that deserves the close attention of the people of the whole world. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement on this matter on January 14, pointing out that "this is an extremely grave step taken by the Japanese reactionaries and the U.S. imperialists colluding to prepare new aggressions and war and menace Asian and world peace." It further points out that "the signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance signifies the revival of Japanese militarism and Japan's open participation in the aggressive U.S. military bloc." It appeals to the peoples of the various Asian countries to stand vigilantly on guard and firmly oppose the activities of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries in planning a new war; it also expresses full support to the Japanese people in carrying on their unremitting struggles to frustrate the schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. The Chinese people fully support the solemn and just state-

ment of the Chinese Foreign Ministry and are determined to fight to the end together with the Japanese people and the peoples of the various Asian countries against the Japan-U.S. military alliance and for the defence of peace in the Far East and the rest of the world.

Why do the revival of Japanese militarism and Japan's participation in the aggressive military bloc of the United States deserve such grave attention? It is because it concerns not only the destiny of the Japanese people but also the security of China and other Asian countries.

The world will never forget what heavy losses the war of aggression launched by the Japanese militarists during the 30s and 40s of the 20th century brought to the peoples of China and other Asian countries as well as the dire aftermath for the Japanese people. So that this painful history would not repeat itself, the Allied countries had, in the Potsdam Declaration of 1945 and the Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan adopted by the Far Eastern Commission in 1947, made solemn pronouncement and explicit provisions to prevent the revival of Japanese militarism and its aggression in the future. In the post-war years, the masses of Japanese people, too, steadfastly sought to take the road of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. But the United States, as the occupying power, violated the relevant international agreements and contrary to the desire of the Japanese people, deliberately preserved and fostered the most reactionary surviving forces of war in Japan. It turned Japan into the supply base of U.S. imperialism in its aggression in the Far East. Clinging to the United States, the forces of Japanese militarism are energetically making a comeback. This has resulted in the acute struggle between two diametrically opposed roads in Japan. The

Chinese people who have had enough of the scourges inflicted by Japanese militarist aggression are always concerned with Japan's future development and firmly support the just struggle of the Japanese people. In recent years, the Chinese Government has consistently exposed the danger of the Japanese reactionaries vigorously reviving Japanese militarism and resorting to expansion overseas with the backing of U.S. imperialism. The Chinese Government, especially since Kishi came to power, has time and again warned that the latent imperialist designs and militarist ambitions of the Japanese monopoly bloc are becoming more and more open and that Japan is once more being dragged down the same old road to war and aggression. Now, in defiance of the strong opposition of the Japanese people and the repeated warnings of the Chinese people and other peace-loving peoples of the world, the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are openly scrapping solemn international agreements and engaging in further military collusion. If, in the past, it could be said that Japan served only as a supply base for the United States in its war of aggression in the Far East, the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance to be concluded shortly will make her a full-fledged member of the aggressive U.S. military bloc, to be completely integrated into the U.S. atomic strategic system as an outright accomplice in its aggression and expansion in the Far East. If, in the past, Japanese militarism had to be somewhat guarded in its activities, then, in future, having acquired for itself a legitimate status, it will become quite reckless. There is the imminent danger of the forces of Japanese militarism, which 15 years ago brought untold suffering to China, Korea, Vietnam, Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya and

Singapore, once again becoming a living menace to the peoples of the various Asian countries. This, naturally, cannot but arouse grave vigilance on the part of the peoples of Asia and other countries of the world.

The conclusion of a Japan-U.S. military alliance is an action long premeditated by U.S. imperialism and the Japanese reactionary clique. The fact that they are now in a hurry to put it into effect reflects the growing difficulties facing both parties. As a result of its aggression and expansion everywhere, the United States is becoming more and more isolated politically and is experiencing great difficulties in maintaining its overstretched military disposition. In addition, an unprecedented unfavourable balance in international payments has occurred in its finances. As an important step in extricating itself from such a difficult position, U.S. imperialism is trying to make use of Japan in the East, as it uses West Germany in the West. Militarily Japan will be used to bear the brunt in the first line, economically she will be made to share a part of the U.S. financial burden and her economic and technical potential is to be exploited for expansion in Southeast Asia. Japan fares no better than the United States. The lopsided growth of Japanese industrial production and the contradiction between the productive forces on the one hand and their markets and raw material supplies on the other have confronted the Japanese monopoly groups with insurmountable difficulties. They are anxious to conclude a military alliance with the United States, develop the Japanese armament industry and turn the country into a U.S. arsenal in the Far East. And, making use of U.S. strength, they are trying to revive the aggressive plan for the so-called "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." To deceive the Japanese people,

the Kishi government had in the past emphatically claimed that the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" would strengthen Japan's independence and sovereignty. Recent statements of Foreign Minister Fujiyama, however, show that the Japanese Government even decided to abandon the article in the treaty providing that U.S. troops stationed in Japan must first consult Japan before taking any war action. This completely exposes the true nature of the relationship between the United States and Japan in the Japan-U.S. military alliance. As we have repeatedly pointed out, Japan's subservience to the U.S. policy of war and aggression will result in its further loss of independence and sovereignty, and pulling chestnuts out of the fire for the United States will plunge the Japanese people into an abyss of catastrophe.

The conclusion of the military alliance by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries runs counter to the trend of development of the international situation. Due to the joint efforts of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and other peace-loving countries and peoples, there has been a certain relaxation in the current international situation. Even the U.S. ruling clique cannot but harp on the tune of peace and make certain gestures indicating its intention to relax international tension. The United States, however, is actually exerting every effort to develop guided missiles and extend its missile bases. It has even declared that it is prepared to resume nuclear tests at any moment. The closer military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries further proves that the U.S. not only continues to strengthen existing military blocs but is trying energetically to patch together a new military bloc with Japan as its centre and thereby aggravate tension in Asia. These U.S. actions

once again expose the tricks of the U.S. ruling clique which pays lip-service to peace while actually preparing for war.

The Japanese people have launched an increasingly broad and intensified struggle to fight against the Japan-U.S. military alliance and for the independence, democracy, peace and neutrality of Japan. Since last year, they have taken 11 nation-wide united actions towards this end, with more than 10 million people participating in different forms of struggle. The Chinese people pay warm tribute to the heroic indomitable Japanese people. We resolutely oppose the Japan-U.S. military alliance and will in no case allow Japanese militarism to menace China's cause of socialist construction. We believe that the people of other Asian nations, too, will not allow Japanese militarism to do as it pleases. The Japanese people by no means stand alone. Though their struggle will be protracted and tortuous, they are certain to win the final victory if they remain united and persistent. The wanton action of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries will not only fail to subdue the Japanese people but will serve increasingly to promote their unity and awakening. Just as the statement of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has pointed out: "Times have changed. No matter how frenzied the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries may get, their criminal schemes to enslave the Japanese people and menace the Asian peoples are doomed to failure."

Resolution of the Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Against Japan-U.S. Military Alliance

(January 23, 1960)

People from all walks of life in the Chinese capital of Peking solemnly gathered together at a mass rally on January 23, 1960, to voice their firm opposition to the Japan-U.S. military alliance and give their full support to the statement issued by the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs on January 14 opposing the conclusion of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. The Chinese people have always given warm support to the Japanese people in their struggle against the revision and for the abolition of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." They will continue to give their firm support to the Japanese people in their just struggle against the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance, and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. We extend our wholehearted respects to the Japanese people who are now waging a heroic struggle.

The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, in disregard of the strong opposition of the Japanese people and repeated warnings by people throughout the world, signed in Washington on January 19 the Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security," under the pretext of revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." In order to

scheme new aggression and war, U.S. imperialism has torn to shreds a series of international agreements concerning prevention of the revival of Japanese militarism and Japanese aggression. It is openly reviving Japanese militarism and integrating Japan into the U.S. aggressive military bloc and atomic war system. The Japanese militarist forces represented by Nobusuke Kishi, by clinging to U.S. imperialism, are vainly attempting once again to carry out expansion in Asia and renew the dream of "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." The establishment of the Japan-U.S. military alliance seriously threatens the security of China, the Soviet Union and other Asian countries and once again draws the Japanese nation towards the abyss of war disaster.

In opposition to the criminal activities of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the Japanese people have waged a vigorous mass movement. The Chinese people and people throughout Asia, who suffered severely from the calamities of Japanese militarist aggression, express their great anger and strong opposition to the military collaboration of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. All peace-loving peoples of the world sternly denounce U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarists.

Confronted with the powerful socialist camp and the world forces of peace headed by the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists were recently forced to make certain gestures of "willingness to relax international tension" in an attempt to hoodwink the people and to gain time while stepping up the production of guided missiles in preparation for nuclear war behind the smokescreen of "peace." But the underhanded tricks of the U.S. imperialists cannot be hidden for long. Not long ago, the U.S. Government openly declared that it was ready to

resume nuclear tests at any time, and has, in fact, already carried out a series of underground nuclear tests. While busily engaged in reviving the West German Nazi forces in Europe, U.S. imperialism has now brazenly formed a military alliance with the Japanese militarist forces. This exposed more clearly its true face — paying lip-service to peace while actually preparing for war.

The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries formed a military alliance in an effort to rid themselves of their difficulties and isolation caused by their policy of war and aggression. However, this is like quenching one's thirst by drinking poison. As a result, they are now meeting mounting indignation from the people of the whole world and have fallen into an even more difficult and isolated position. Their frenzied hostility towards China cannot but arouse greater indignation among the Chinese people. Kishi has placed another new and more serious barrier in the path of improving the Sino-Japanese relations. It is absolutely fanatic thinking on the part of Kishi and his kind to attempt to renew the old dream of Japanese imperialism by relying on the conclusion of the Japan-U.S. military alliance.

The present international situation is highly favourable to the peace-loving people and unfavourable to the war forces of imperialism. The Japanese people have both strengthened and enlarged their forces in the struggle against the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." We are firmly convinced that the heroic Japanese people will be even more united and persistently carry on to the end the struggle against the Japan-U.S. military alliance and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. The U.S. imperialism and the Japanese militarist forces represented by Kishi will certainly meet with ignominious

and miserable defeat. The Chinese people will strive, together with the peoples of Japan and Asia and peace-loving peoples all over the world, for the defence of world peace and the security of mankind.

The Rally of People from All Walks of Life in the Chinese Capital Against the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance

Peking, January 23, 1960

Speech Made by Kuo Mo-jo at the Rally of People from All Walks of Life in Peking Against the Japan-U.S. Military Alliance

(January 23, 1960)

Comrades and Friends,

We meet here today at a rally of the people from all walks of life in the capital against the Japan-U.S. military alliance. We all know that five days ago, on the 19th of this month, Japanese Prime Minister Kishi and U.S. President Eisenhower, who is peddling a false peace, concluded a new dirty, criminal deal in Washington, namely, the so-called Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security." This deal has been in preparation for the last two years. It has long been widely condemned by people in Asia and throughout the world and has aroused the wrathful opposition of the broad masses of the Japanese people. A nation-wide struggle against the Japan-U.S. treaty has recently swept like a tide over the length and breadth of Japan. We, the Chinese people, resolutely oppose the criminal dealings between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and resolutely support the just struggle of the Japanese people. We extend our wholehearted respects to the Japanese people who are steadfastly and tirelessly carrying on a

heroic struggle against the Japan-U.S. military alliance, against the revival of Japanese militarism and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality.

Comrades and friends! What kind of a treaty is this so-called Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security"? This is an out and out aggressive treaty of military alliance. The conclusion of this treaty marks the revival of Japanese militarism under the aegis of U.S. imperialism and its open participation in the aggressive military bloc sponsored by the United States. The aim of this treaty is to prepare for new aggression and war. It is a serious provocation to China, the Soviet Union, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to the peoples of all countries in Asia. It seriously threatens peace in the Far East and throughout the world. By virtue of this treaty, the United States is extending its control over Japan militarily, politically and economically. It is turning Japan into its military base and arsenal for aggressive war in the Far East, and is turning the Japanese people into cannon fodder for aggressive wars. The forces of Japanese militarism represented by Kishi, on the other hand, are trying, by way of collusion with U.S. imperialism, to renew the past dream of Japanese imperialism and strike up its old tune of a "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere," to carry out aggression and expansion against Southeast Asia and other countries and once again bring disaster to the peoples of the Asian countries.

The military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries is bringing endless disasters to the Japanese people. This treaty runs completely counter to the will of the Japanese people and to that road of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality which the Japanese people demand should be followed. Kishi is taking the road of subordination to U.S. imperialism, selling out Japanese national interests, reviving militarism and strengthening fascist rule, and driving the Japanese people onto the path of war, death and disaster.

This treaty stands ostentatiously for "mutual co-operation" and "security." The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries have shamelessly and painstakingly sought out many beautiful words to whitewash the "treaty," declaring that it was drawn up "on the basis of the principles of equal sovereignty," claiming that it was a "purely defensive" and "peaceful" treaty. But the treaty itself and the "attached documents" clearly stipulate that the U.S. army, navy and air force can be stationed for long periods of time in Japan, can establish military bases and use military establishments there. U.S. forces stationed in Japan also enjoy extraterritoriality and various prerogatives. Okinawa is still under U.S. control. These facts alone are sufficient to show that by this treaty the United States is now again guaranteed military control of Japan, while Japan has moved a step further in its subservience to the United States.

The treaty also provides for mutual co-operation between Japan and the United States in developing the armed forces, alleging that they will "consult" each other in order to meet "threats" and that they will adopt common action to meet "armed attack." These are nothing less than provisions for armaments drives and preparation for war and armed aggression under the pretext of "defence." This is intended to harness Japan securely to the chariot of U.S. nuclear war.

It is well known that in the dictionary of the imperialists "mutual security" stands for aggressive military

alliance and "defence" has long become a synonym for aggression. When the Axis countries of Germany, Japan and Italy unleashed the Second World War, when Japanese imperialism launched its aggressive war against China and when U.S. imperialism started the aggressive war against Korea, they all used so-called "defence" as their pretext, while the "threat" which they alleged was none other than the favourite trick of a thief shouting "stop thief!" It is a well-known fact that the United States is ten thousand kilometres away from the Far East. What is the reason for it to carry out defence so far from its shores? Far from anybody threatening the United States, it is the United States itself that has crossed oceans to threaten others. Long before the treaty was signed, the Japanese *Asahi Shimbun* said that no matter what name was given to the new security treaty, it would objectively never have the character of a defensive alliance. Former Japanese Ambassador to Britain Harusiko Nishi likened this treaty of aggressive military alliance to the fascist war alliance concluded between Japan, Germany and Italy in 1940. There is no comparison more apt than this. Let us look at the matter of Japan's security. It is none other than U.S. imperialism that has travelled ten thousand kilometres to establish military bases in Japan, occupy Japanese territory, encroach on Japanese sovereignty, tie Japan to its war chariot and seriously jeopardize Japanese national interests! Who was it that destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki with atom bombs massacring numberless peaceful inhabitants? Was it not U.S. imperialism? Who is it that has pockmarked Japan with military bases, even turning beautiful Fujiyama into a shooting range? Is it not U.S. imperialism? Who is it that is occupying the Japanese territory of the

Ogasawara Islands and Ryukyu Islands? Is it not U.S. imperialism? Who is it that has shipped nuclear weapons into Japan which may lead to Japan's total destruction? Is it not U.S. imperialism? Who was it that carried out nuclear weapon tests in the Pacific, killing Aikichi Kuboyama of *Fukuryu Maru No. 5*? Was it not U.S. imperialism? It is precisely U.S. imperialism that is jeopardizing Japan's security. But Kishi and company go so far as to go in for "mutual co-operation" with U.S. imperialism for "security." What does this signify?

The joint communique which Eisenhower and Kishi issued following the signing of the "treaty" has exposed the aggressive plot of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries against the Asian region. The communique says: "Japan's increasing participation in international discussion of the problems of Asia will be in the interest of the free world." The communique also says that the U.S. "President particularly referred to the increasing role the Japanese people are playing in the economic development of free Asia." Japanese imperialism that has brought endless suffering to Asia will again show its claws under the patronage of U.S. imperialism. Japanese monopoly capitalists who smell strongly of gunpowder are thus bestirring themselves for action. Taizo Ishizaka, President of Japan's Federation of Economic Organizations, has openly declared that they can no longer reconcile themselves to the present situation in which they have no special rights and interests in the various Southeast Asian countries. Itoji Muto, President of the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company, has also said: "After the Japanese-Ching Dynasty and Japanese-Russian Wars and the First World War, Japan gained new, exclusive markets.... This experience

in the past must be applied effectively." Are these not self-confessions of robber gangs?

Comrades and friends! The signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance reminds us of that most savage and vicious Japanese imperialism which invaded China and Asia. Every Chinese can clearly recall the suffering Japanese imperialism caused the Chinese people and what a bloody debt it owes them. During the eight years of the Japanese war of aggression against China alone, more than 10 million Chinese people sacrificed their lives, and property valued at 50,000 million U.S. dollars was lost. Just as the ruthless brutalities committed by Japanese imperialism in China remain fresh in the minds of the Chinese people, so every Asian will remember the catastrophe brought to them by Japanese imperialism, nor will they forget the inhuman slaughter and mad plundering which it engaged in. Even the Japanese people will clearly remember who drove them on to the road of war and forced two million Japanese young men to die or face life as cripples, leaving millions of war widows and orphans. The Japanese people will not forget that militarism imposed on them the disaster of war and the sanguinary rule of fascism, especially the catastrophe of the atom bomb. However, under the aegis of U.S. imperialism, the remnant elements of Japanese militarism and the monopolists, represented by Kishi, have now concluded a military alliance with U.S. imperialism, and are preparing for new aggression and war in an attempt to revive the old dreams of Japanese imperialism! Can the Japanese people merely look on at this? Can the Chinese people just look on? Can the people of Asian countries and other countries in the world just look on at this?

U.S. imperialism inherited the tradition of the "Axis Powers" early in the days following the Second World War. It is doing its best to revive the militarist forces of West Germany in the West and Japanese militarism in the East. Everywhere, it has organized aggressive military blocs and established military bases. U.S. planes carrying nuclear warheads frequently fly over other countries. U.S. imperialism violates the sovereignty of other nations on the pretext of "aid" and plunders their riches to feed its own munitions industry. U.S. imperialism is lording it over others in a way that is unprecedented in history.

In reviving Japanese militarism, U.S. imperialism has undermined a series of international agreements. The conclusion of the present Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance completely scraps all the international agreements concerned. U.S. imperialism long ago restored many Japanese militarists to the Japanese political stage. Kishi himself is one of these whom U.S. imperialism has painstakingly reared. When U.S. imperialism waged the aggressive war against Korea and carried out war provocations against our country in the Taiwan Straits, Japan acted as a supply base for the operations of U.S. armed forces. Japanese armament monopolies netted bloody profits from the aggressive war against Korea. Japanese militarists, echoing U.S. imperialism, often raise a hostile clamour against the peoples of China, the Soviet Union and other Asian countries, more and more revealing their aims of imperialist aggression. It can be said that this Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance has completely brought to light the latent imperialist ambitions of the Japanese militarists.

We have long been keenly alerted to the revival of Japanese militarism. Ten years ago, it was clearly stated in the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between China and the Soviet Union that the two countries pledged "to prevent jointly the revival of Japanese imperialism and the resumption of aggression on the part of Japan or any other state that may collaborate in any way with Japan in acts of aggression. . . ." Therefore, the revival of Japanese militarism fostered by U.S. imperialism is no novelty to us. We know that since the end of the Second World War, a struggle has been going on in Japan as to which road the country should take — the road to independence and peace or the road to militarism and imperialism. The Japanese people oppose the latter road and resolutely choose the first one. This is because the first road conforms to the interests of the Japanese people, is welcomed by the peoples of China and Asia and is favourable to world peace.

The Chinese people, therefore, always strictly differentiate between the Japanese people and the Japanese militarists. We are always friendly to the Japanese people. We have made great efforts to develop friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples on a new basis and promote the restoration of normal relations between the two countries. But the Kishi government of Japan, completely ignoring the ardent desire of the Japanese people to restore Japanese-Chinese relations, has invariably pursued a policy hostile to China and obstructing the normalization of these relations. It tore up the Chinese-Japanese trade agreement, takes an active part in the U.S. imperialist plot to create "two Chinas" and has now entered into an aggressive military alliance with U.S. imperialism. This could not but throw up new and bigger

obstacles in the way of better Sino-Japanese relations. Kishi's wild aggressive ambitions have now been exposed completely. But, despite this, he attempts to play new tricks on the question of Chinese-Japanese relations, hoping to strengthen his own position through the military alliance with the United States. We serve this serious warning on Kishi: You have already done enough evil! You had better stop your futile tricks! The Chinese people have consistently opposed threats of war, but have never been scared by threats of war. China is no longer the old China known as "the sick man of East Asia," but a New China, which is united as never before and advancing by leaps and bounds, and where the people have become the masters. Even under the conditions of old China Japanese imperialism met with ignominious defeat in waging its aggressive war. How then can the Japanese militarists' dreams of aggression come true today when China has stood up in Asia and the world as a new socialist country? We dare to say to the world: **All the plots and conspiracies of Kishi and U.S. imperialism will not shake in the least the will of the Chinese people in opposing aggressive war. Collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries will only serve to promote the co-operation of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and the peoples of the other Asian countries in opposing the U.S. imperialist policy of aggression and war and Japan's taking the road of militarism and imperialism.**

Comrades and friends! The hurried signing of this treaty of military alliance by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries at the present moment by no means shows that they are strong. On the contrary, it shows that they are conspiring with each other in the face of deepening difficulties. U.S. imperialism has met with increasing opposition from

the peoples of the whole world and is becoming more isolated because everywhere it carries out aggression and expansion. Its adventurist war policy has also caused serious uneasiness at home. With its big military expenditure and the burden of so-called "foreign aid," its economic situation has become more and more difficult, accompanied by an unprecedentedly unfavourable balance of international payments. To extricate itself from its plight in a hurry, U.S. imperialism is stepping up its efforts to use West German militarism in the West and Japanese militarism in the East as its instruments of aggression and get them to pull its chestnuts out of the fire. At the same time, it wants to squeeze still more out of the Japanese people through the Japanese reactionaries so as to lighten its own financial burden. The Japanese reactionaries who are dependent upon U.S. imperialism and are pursuing a policy of war and aggression and betraying Japan's national interests, have also met with many political and economic difficulties and aroused strong opposition among the broad masses of the Japanese people. The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries intend to make use of each other to extricate themselves from their difficulties and to support each other in carrying out expansion. They each have their own plans, but they are completely alike in their thirst for aggression, their bellicosity, their hostility towards China, the Soviet Union and the Korean Democratic People's Republic, and their hostility towards the peace-loving peoples of the Asian countries and all other countries in the world. Theirs is a criminal collusion, a collaboration of warmongers.

This also enables us to see more clearly how false are the peace pretensions of U.S. imperialism. The conclusion

of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance has further exposed the criminal character of the U.S. imperialists' pretences about peace while actually preparing for war. The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries originally planned to collude with each other through this treaty of military alliance in order to rid themselves of their difficulties, but because of this treaty, they have more fully exposed their true colours and stirred up indignation throughout the world, causing them ever greater troubles. Eisenhower's statement on the readiness of the United States to resume nuclear tests at any time and the conclusion of the treaty with the Kishi government have proved that U.S. imperialism persists in preparing for a nuclear war. Eisenhower's "State of the Union Message" and his "Budget Message" have also shown clearly how the U.S. imperialists are thirsting for war. U.S. imperialism is trying to gain time to step up its production of guided missiles and is equipping its military bases in every part of the world, including Japan, with these destructive weapons.

Comrades and friends! I would like to repeat that the revival of militarism in Japan and its open participation in the U.S. imperialist aggressive military bloc have not only confronted the Japanese people with the abyss of the disaster of war, but have turned into a real threat the danger of a resurgent Japanese militarism bringing disaster to Asia. This is firmly opposed by the Japanese people and can never be tolerated by the Chinese people and the peoples of other Asian countries, who have suffered enough from the effects of Japanese militarism. This is also strongly condemned by other peace-loving people of the whole world.

The masses of the Japanese people have consistently fought against the revival of militarism, against nuclear weapons and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. They have taken the correct road. In the past ten years and more, they have strongly demanded freedom from U.S. control, the withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces and military bases from Japan, the abolition of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" that has enslaved their country, the restoration of normal relations with neighbouring China and the establishment of friendly relations with the peoples of all countries. Since 1958, as a result of the further exposure of the schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries to step up their military collusion and plot new aggression and war in the name of revising the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," the mass struggles against revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and for its abolition have become the central question in the fight of the Japanese people against the revival of militarism and for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. In less than a year, the Japanese people have formed and developed a broad patriotic democratic united front and launched 11 powerful nationwide united actions against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." More and more people have joined this struggle. Today, throughout Japan, in every prefecture and county, and in many cities and towns, organizations have been set up for joint struggles against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." Japanese workers, peasants, women, professors, students, journalists, writers, actors and actresses, lawyers, religious circles, business people with medium-sized and small enterprises and people of other sections of the community have also formed their own organizations against the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty." The number of

people involved in all forms of struggle against this "Security Treaty" has reached a total of over 10 million. The powerful struggles of the Japanese people have produced tremendous achievements. They have effectively exposed the aggressive plots of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and dealt a telling blow to them. Their struggles have also upset the timetable of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries for the early conclusion of the military alliance, and compelled them to repeatedly postpone the signing of the treaty originally scheduled for last February. Faced with the indignation of the broad masses of the Japanese people, Kishi has become more isolated and his position more difficult. Even within the Liberal-Democratic Party itself, some enlightened people have shown a growing dissatisfaction with Kishi's actions. The scale and depth of this struggle of the Japanese people and their strength and perseverance shown in the struggle are unprecedented in Japanese history, and are seldom to be found in the world's history. For example, in the course of the latest nation-wide united action, rallies, strikes and demonstrations were held in many places throughout Japan, and, moreover, delegations were sent to Tokyo for the national rally there and to express strong opposition and protests to Kishi. They even included delegates from Yamaguchi prefecture — Kishi's own constituency. On the very day before Kishi's departure for the United States, 40,000 people held a demonstration and rally in Tokyo protesting against the signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. From dawn to dusk, people kept streaming to the Prime Minister's official residence to demonstrate and protest. Kishi had to move his family to his private apartment in the next house

to get away from it all. On the following day, he departed 13 hours earlier than scheduled. Thousands of armed policemen and hundreds of armoured cars were put on guard as if they had to deal with an enemy attack. He sneaked into the airport from the backdoor, under the escort of 15 motor cycles and 12 lorries fully loaded with policemen. It was reported that Kishi was still uneasy and nervous on his arrival at Honolulu. Kishi's confusion can also be described as unprecedented in Japanese history and can seldom be found in the world's history.

Kishi has gone to the limits of servility in trying to please the United States. In Honolulu on his way to Washington he said: "Japanese newspapers are unlike your reliable *New York Times* and other U.S. papers; you can't rely on the Japanese press." He added: "Some friends ask me whether I read the Japanese papers. I say, 'Yes, the sports pages.'" Afraid that he was not sufficiently obsequious to the United States, he said the Communists "are always picking on me because I'm pro-American." Though these are trifles, they provide a vivid self-portrait of Kishi.

Kishi calculates that subservience to the U.S. imperialists will help realize his dream. But as is clear to everybody, U.S. imperialism that appears to Kishi as a rockfirm mountain of support is nothing but a melting iceberg. U.S. imperialism, which has committed many crimes, has become the public enemy of the people of the world and its position is becoming increasingly unfavourable. The much vaunted "strength" of the United States has been left far behind by the powerful Soviet Union. Is it possible that Kishi's dependence on U.S. imperialism will spell a bright future for him?

Frankly speaking, Kishi and his like will no longer be able to browbeat the increasingly awakening peoples of Southeast Asia and other Asian countries. **The Asian countries today are no longer the colonies and semi-colonies of the past, to be carved up and plundered at will by others. The peoples of Southeast Asia and other Asian countries who are safeguarding or struggling for national independence will never allow the Japanese militarists who have brought untold sufferings to them to stage a comeback and play havoc with them again. The criminal plots of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries are doomed to the most disastrous defeat.**

Despite the fact that the new Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security" has been signed, the Japanese people are fully aware that this does not mean the end of their fight. On the contrary, it means a further development and deepening of their struggle. The Japanese people, being even more united, are pressing their struggle forward on the basis of the success already won. A still more powerful movement is being launched by the Japanese people to prevent the Diet from ratifying the Japan-U.S. "Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security" and for the abolition of this treaty. The fight and success of the Japanese people contributes greatly not only to the defence of Japan's national interests and security, but also to the cause of opposing war and upholding peace in Asia and the world. It has won warm acclaim and powerful support from the Chinese people, the peoples of the various Asian countries and all peace-loving people the world over. The struggle of the Japanese people may be a protracted one in which there will be turns and twists as well as difficulties. Nevertheless justice is on their side and the broad masses of the Asian

people and all the peace-loving people of the world are also on their side. So long as the Japanese people strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, they will certainly continue to win still greater victories, and will finally bring about the ignominious end of the Japanese and U.S. warmongers. The Japanese people will undoubtedly win final victory in their heroic, unswerving struggle. Their desire to take the road of independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, too, will undoubtedly be realized.

I would like to say once more that the Chinese people have always deeply sympathized with and resolutely supported the Japanese people's fight for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality, and will continue to do so. **U.S. imperialism is the common and most vicious enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples and the peoples of the various Asian countries and the world. It is not only a task for the Japanese people but also a common task for the peoples of Asia and the whole world to smash the designs of Kishi and U.S. imperialism for new aggression and war in the Far East. The Chinese people, together with the Japanese people, the peoples of the Asian countries and the rest of the world, will exert every effort to thoroughly crush the new plots for aggression and war of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries and safeguard peace in Asia and the world.**

Comrades and friends! Today we live in the 60s of the 20th century. This is a time in which the East wind continues to prevail over the West wind and the forces of peace continue to prevail over the forces of war; a time in which the forces of socialism headed by the Soviet Union are incomparably strong whereas imperialism is like the setting sun. The great Soviet Union has entered the historic period of extensive building of communism. Following the successful launching of three giant space rockets last year, it successfully launched a multi-stage ballistic rocket into the Pacific, as previously planned, on the 20th of this month — the very day after the signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. This has further demonstrated that Soviet science and technology have taken the lead in the world. This also means that the happiness of mankind and peace in the world are further guaranteed. We Chinese people cannot but hail the achievements of the Soviet Union and the all-round development of the socialist countries as well as our own achievements. Having fulfilled the main targets of the Second Five-Year Plan three years ahead of schedule and on the basis of the brilliant success of the general line, the great leap forward and the people's communes, the whole nation is continuing the great task of socialist construction with burning zeal. We hail, too, the growth of the national and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. These national and democratic movements which enjoy the support of the forces of socialism are surging ahead on a bigger scale and with greater strength. They constitute a strong force for opposing imperialism and defending world peace. In the face of the powerful fight for peace launched by the people of the whole world, U.S. imperialism is becoming increasingly isolated. Its policy of aggression and war has met with a series of defeats, each bigger than the last. Its peace disguise is being seen through by more and more people. The Chinese saying "he who does much evil to others is certain to kill himself" points to the doom of the U.S. imperialists and all reactionaries. **We warn the U.S. imperialists and all warmongers: If you dare to defy the**

opinion of the whole world and unleash aggressive war, you will only be speeding up your own destruction. The people of the whole world will make aggressive wars and imperialism mere historical terms!

Comrades and friends! Whether imperialism likes it or not, the current world situation is very favourable to peace, not to war; very favourable to the world's people, not to imperialism. The people of the world will further strengthen their solidarity, maintain their full vigilance and continue to expose the plots of U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries, and carry out unremitting struggles to develop the current situation along lines ever more favourable to peace. The fight for peace and against war will certainly win ever broader, greater and more thorough victories!

Smash the New Plot of War and Aggression of the U.S. and Japanese Reactionaries

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(January 24, 1960)

On January 19 the Japanese Prime Minister Kishi and the U.S. Government signed the so-called Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security. The signing of this long-notorious Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance fully exposes the U.S. imperialists as preparing for war in the guise of working for peace. It lays bare the criminal activities of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries who are working hand in glove with each other. It shows clearly that Kishi is bent on setting himself against the Japanese and the Chinese people and the people of other Asian countries and treading the old path of militarism and imperialism. In their talks at the signing ceremony of the treaty both Kishi and Fujiyama loudly hailed the conclusion of the treaty as signifying "a sign of good luck" in future Japan-U.S. relations and bragged about the "big successes" of the new military collaboration between the United States and Japanese reactionaries. We would like to advise these gentlemen not to be so happy so soon. Three days before they made such utterances did not they sneak into the airport under the protection of armed police and armoured cars and fly to the United States in a state of panic? Have they for-

gotten this embarrassing predicament so soon? All *this* only shows that the criminal tricks they were plotting are extremely unpopular and began with an evil omen. Their reactionary measures are rousing the wrath of the Japanese people and making them more resolute in their struggle. They are also heightening the vigilance of the people of China and other Asian countries. The struggle against the Japan-U.S. military alliance and the resurgence of Japanese militarism is entering a new stage. The "big successes" they brag about will bring them bigger and more disastrous defeats.

No matter how demagogically the Japanese and U.S. reactionaries may talk, they do not mean what they say. To allay the opposition of the Japanese people and the people of other countries in Asia, the government leaders of the United States and Japan have taken great pains to explain that the treaty is "purely of a defensive nature," that its conclusion will make the relation between the United States and Japan one of "equal partnership," and that Japan will benefit greatly from its close co-operation with the United States. Such a stupid trick of self-deception will fool no one; it just further exposes the guilty conscience of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The U.S. and Japanese reactionaries have left no stone unturned in whitewashing this treaty as a "peaceful treaty." They even pretend that it will "materially strengthen peace and security in the Far East." According to the provisions of the treaty, the two parties, "by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop . . . their capacities to resist armed attack." They will take action to meet any "common danger" that should take place on Japanese soil and they

will negotiate and take action "whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened." What is the real meaning of all these provisions? It is that Japanese militarism will be rearmed with U.S. help and develop its striking power to an unlimited extent. It will help guard the U.S. bases in Japan and assist in all U.S. aggression and expansion outside of Japan, that is, throughout the Far East. As we all know, in the dictionary of the imperialists, the word "defence" is synonymous to "aggression," and what they mean by "their security is being threatened" is "they are to threaten the security of others." May we ask what reason has the United States of the Eastern Pacific to build up "defences" in the Western Pacific? The Japanese imperialists did indeed deal a great blow to the United States at Pearl Harbour in the Second World War. But apart from that, no country in the world has ever set up any military bases at the gate of the United States, or organized a military bloc to threaten its security. It is rather the United States that has gone ten thousand kilometres to the Western Pacific to seize the territories of other countries, set up atomic and missile bases and organize aggressive military treaty organizations with the purpose of threatening the peace and security of the Asian countries. With regard to Japan, it repeatedly launched aggression against China and other countries in Asia from the end of the nineteenth century to the forties of the twentieth century. No country has threatened or invaded Japan except the United States which up to now still keeps Japan in a state of semi-occupation and seriously impairs its independence. Thus it can be seen that the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' so-called mutual co-operation, defence against dangers and threats from abroad and so on are mere smokescreens to

cover up their collusion in preparing new aggression and wars in the Far East. The U.S. ruling circles are now talking profusely about "peace." But actually, they have not liquidated one single military base or dissolved one single military bloc; on the contrary, they are making an all-out effort to increase their atomic and missile bases and to set up new military blocs. The Northeast Asian military alliance which has long been planned by the United States has now actually come into existence with the signing of the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. As a matter of fact, there is no longer any secret about the aggressive nature of this treaty of military alliance. Two months ago Aiichiro Fujiyama said that the area of "mutual defence" stipulated in the treaty would include the north of the Philippines, the coast of China, the maritime territory of the Soviet Union and other regions in the neighbourhood of Japan. And Kishi himself has even openly declared that the Japanese troops might "make movements on the high seas," and added that they might be sent abroad to "attack the enemy bases." The Japanese reactionaries themselves have made a clean breast of their plot and fully exposed the real aims of this treaty. Should there be still any doubt about the aggressive nature of the Japan-U.S. military alliance?

The published Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance and its attached documents have thoroughly smashed the barefaced lie that the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" would add to Japan's independence. The treaty provides that the U.S. forces which have been stationed in Japan for fifteen years after the war will remain there for another ten years. Not only has the United States rejected the just demand of the Japanese people that Okinawa and Ogasawara (the Bonin Islands) be

returned to Japan and that the military bases in Japan be liquidated; it has integrated Japan completely into the U.S. atomic strategic system in the Far East. Once the United States launches a war of aggression, Japan, under its commitments, will have to send its armed forces abroad to fight alongside those of the United States. The object of the Japan-U.S. military alliance is to tie Japan more tightly to the U.S. war chariot, to deprive Japan of its independence and to turn it into a tool and an accomplice of the U.S. in a new nuclear war. In order to hoodwink the Japanese people and dampen down the resistance to the signing of the treaty, Kishi had declared many times that the treaty would include an article to the effect that U.S. troops stationed in Japan must consult the Japanese Government before they took any military action. As Japan is actually under U.S. occupation and control, the inclusion of such an article into the treaty can at best have a nominal meaning, and will not in the least give Japan any independence and sovereignty. But the U.S. masters would not even condescend to put in such a nominal clause. So, Kishi had no alternative but to give up the clause and hope to muddle it through by an exchange of notes between the two countries and by having the idea mentioned in passing in the joint communique. In the communique Eisenhower made an obscure promise to Kishi, assuring him "the United States Government has no intention of acting in a manner contrary to the wishes of the Japanese Government." The statement published recently by the Japanese Socialist Party has well said that this was "enough to show there is utterly no power of veto on the part of Japan." In order to cover up Kishi's increased reliance on the United States, the reactionaries of these two countries have put forth intensive propaganda

to the effect that Japan will gain much benefit from its "economic co-operation" with the United States. Now the facts are clear. The sole content of the so-called Japan-U.S. economic co-operation is to turn Japan into an open market of U.S. capital and goods by imposing free trade and free convertibility of foreign exchange on Japan. This is to further U.S. control over Japan's economic lifelines. In his talks with Eisenhower, Kishi agreed to relax restrictions on U.S. imports and even to control Japanese exports to the United States. As to Kishi's long-held plan to carry out economic expansion in Southeast Asia with "U.S. capital and Japanese technique," it made little headway this time. It is obvious that the United States, which is facing a grave financial and banking crisis, is stepping up its efforts to wage a "trade war," dump its goods abroad and compel its partners to share its heavy burden so as to reduce its huge deficit in international payment, postpone the collapse of the prestige of the dollar and prop up its weakening economic position in the capitalist world. Under these circumstances, it is certainly vain for Kishi to try to get anything from the United States. This shows clearly how much there is in the so-called "equality" and "partnership" between Japan and the United States. The Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance, instead of enhancing Japan's independence and sovereignty, damages it to an even greater extent. Far from bringing Japan anything good, it will bring it endless miseries. Submitting to the will of the U.S. monopoly group and a handful of pro-U.S. Japanese monopolists, Kishi has had no scruples in bringing dishonour to the Japanese nation and sacrificing the interests of the broad masses of the Japanese people and the small and middle capitalists by signing a treaty of national betrayal with the United States. This is completely against the national interests of Japan.

It was extremely wild and absurd on the part of Kishi to imagine that the signing of the treaty of military alliance with the United States would enable him to take a tough stand, that China would bow to him and that problems of Sino-Japanese relations would be settled on his terms. It is well-known that Kishi is the chief culprit in obstructing the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. It was precisely Kishi who some two years ago defiantly disrupted the economic and trade relations established through many years' joint efforts of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Since that time, the Chinese people have repeatedly stressed that the most reactionary monopoly groups represented by Kishi have been striving to drag Japan once again onto the old path of militarism and imperialism. The Chinese people have solemnly declared that restoration of the economic and trade relations between the two countries can be considered only when the Kishi government abandons its hostility against China, stops obstructing the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations and ceases its plot to create "two Chinas." But in the past two years, far from showing any signs of repentance, Kishi has even gone further and joined with the United States in a military alliance against China and the Soviet Union. This has raised more serious obstacles to the improvement of Sino-Japanese relations. The great Chinese people who are building socialism at flying speed have long seen through the double-dealing and mean tricks of Kishi. They have not the slightest illusions about him and will never tolerate any provocations by Japanese militarism.

Kishi's obstinate policy of hostility against China has not only met with resolute opposition by the Japanese people; it has also aroused discontent among a number of far-sighted persons, including some of the ruling party, in Japan. It is to be welcomed that lately more and more people from Japanese political and business circles have advocated an early settlement of the deadlock in Sino-Japanese relations. But we have to point out that some among them still hold an incorrect view which puts the Sino-Soviet alliance on a par with the Japan-U.S. alliance. They contend that China should acknowledge the accomplished facts, deal with the Japanese Government and restore economic and trade relations. They do not understand that the Sino-Soviet alliance and the Japan-U.S. alliance are of entirely different nature. The Sino-Soviet alliance is an alliance to safeguard peace; it can never constitute any threat to Japan. The question at issue now is that the Japanese and U.S. reactionaries have recklessly torn up solemn international agreements and openly set up an aggressive military alliance against China and the Soviet Union, thereby gravely threatening our security. The Chinese people certainly will not acknowledge such "facts," nor will they have anything to do with the Kishi government under such circumstances. But towards the Japanese people, we have consistently adhered to a policy of friendship. In the past year and more, the Japanese people have linked up ever more closely the struggle against the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" with the struggle for the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations; they have gained an increasingly clear understanding that U.S. imperialism and Japanese militarism are the common enemy of the Chinese and Japanese peoples. In view of the further

military collusion between the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the Chinese and Japanese peoples will unite more closely, develop their friendly relations, reinforce their mutual support and carry on to the end their struggle against their common enemy and for normalizing relations between the two countries.

The Japanese monopoly groups represented by Kishi fondly believed that with the conclusion of a military alliance with the United States and backed up by U.S. influence, they would be able to lord it over in Asia and revive their old dream of "the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere." This proves that they have learned nothing from the lessons of history and, what is more, are going diametrically counter to the trend of the times. With the East wind now prevailing over the West wind, the Japanese reactionaries could hardly be unaware of what would be in store for them if they should unleash aggression against China, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in Asia. A wealth of facts show that the Japanese reactionaries are directing their spearhead of aggression against the Southeast Asian countries. Taizo Ishizaka, President of Japan's Federation of Economic Organizations, has openly declared that they can no longer reconcile themselves to the present situation in which they have no special rights and interests in the various Southeastern Asian countries. In fact, since last year, Japanese monopoly capital has been making inroads into the Southeast Asian market by means of "war reparations," and has been stepping up its imperialist policy of "supplying industrial Japan with the raw materials of Southeast Asia" and reducing Southeast Asia to a source of raw materials for Japan. Through investments, loans and other methods Japanese monopoly capital is trying to

seize more mineral deposits and natural resources, expand Japan's economic influence and create conditions for establishing an "Asian common market" or "Pacific common market" under Japanese control. This time Kishi has gone even further and together with the U.S. Government has worked out plans for aggression and expansion against Southeast Asia. However, it will never be smooth going for the Japanese reactionaries to expand into Southeast Asia. There exist insurmountable contradictions between Japan on the one hand and the United States and other imperialist powers on the other. In addition, the awakened people of the Southeast Asian countries will never allow the Japanese reactionaries to do as they please. As a step to boycott Japan's unequal trade relations Burma has recently stopped importing Japanese commodities, while Japan's "immigration plan" has been refused by Cambodia. This shows that the Southeast Asian nations are not without vigilance against Japanese expansion. It is certain that with the extension of its aggression, Japan's conflict with various other quarters will sharpen.

The Japanese people, who have experienced enslavement by imperialism and militarism and suffered untold war calamities, will never allow the U.S. reactionaries to succeed in carrying out their plots. In the past year and more, the Japanese people have made much headway in their struggle for independence, democracy, peace and neutrality. This struggle, which centres around opposition to the revision of the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty," is unprecedented in Japanese history in scope, depth, duration and consistency. Through this struggle the Japanese people have greatly enhanced their consciousness, strengthened their unity, isolated Kishi as never before and, what is more, compelled the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries to postpone again and again the plan to sign the treaty. Although the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance has now been signed, it is an indication of the weakness of the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries, not of their strength. By so doing they have become more abhorred and isolated, educated the broad mass of Japanese people by negative example and incited them to more courageous and united actions. The Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party has called upon the Japanese people to do everything they can to prevent the Diet from ratifying the Japan-U.S. treaty of military alliance. The Japanese Socialist Party, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan and other progressive organizations are now energetically organizing and promoting a new and stronger struggle against the Japan-U.S. military alliance. The Chinese people have always sympathized with and supported the just struggle of the Japanese people. The Chinese people know very well from their own experience that before achieving their objective, the Japanese people will still have to go through a protracted and tortuous struggle. The over-all situation, however, is very much in their favour and all justice is on their side. The peace-loving people all over the world are with them. We are confident that, by persisting to the end, the Japanese people will definitely be able to attain their great objective and all the sinister schemes of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries will ultimately fall through.

APPENDICES

The Potsdam Declaration of China, the United States and Great Britain on Japanese Surrender (Excerpts)

(July 26, 1945)

6. There must be eliminated for all time the authority and influence of those who have deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest, for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world.

7. Until such a new order is established and until there is convincing proof that Japan's war-making power is destroyed, points in Japanese territory to be designated by the Allies shall be occupied to secure the achievement of the basic objectives we are here setting forth.

8. The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the Islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

9. Japanese military forces after being completely disarmed shall be permitted to return to their homes with the opportunity to lead peaceful and productive lives.

10. We do not intend that the Japanese shall be enslaved as a race or destroyed as a nation, but stern

justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners.

The Japanese government shall remove all obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people. Freedom of speech and religion and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights, shall be established.

11. Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the payment of just reparation in kind, but not those industries which will enable her to rearm for war.

To this end, access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials shall be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted.

12. The occupying forces of the Allies shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as these objectives have been accomplished and there has been established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people a peacefully inclined and responsible government.

13. We call upon the government of Japan to proclaim now the unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces, and to provide proper and adequate assurances of their good faith in such action. The alternative for Japan is prompt and utter destruction.

Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan Adopted by the Far Eastern Commission

(June 19, 1947)

This document is a statement of general policy relating to Japan after surrender. It does not deal with all matters relating to the occupation of Japan requiring policy determinations. Such matters as are not included or are not fully covered will be dealt with separately.

PREAMBLE

Whereas on September 2, 1945, Japan surrendered unconditionally to the Allied Powers and is now under military occupation by forces of these Powers under the command of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and

Whereas representatives of the following nations, namely, Australia, Canada, China, France, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, the Philippines, the U.S.S.R., the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, which were engaged in the war against Japan, have on the decision of the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers met together at Washington as a Far Eastern Commission, to formulate the policies, principles and standards in conformity with which the fulfillment by Japan of its

obligations under the Terms of Surrender may be accomplished;

The nations composing this Commission, with the object of fulfilling the intentions of the Potsdam Declaration, of carrying out the instrument of surrender and of establishing international security and stability,

Conscious that such security and stability depend first, upon the complete destruction of the military machine which has been the chief means whereby Japan has carried out the aggressions of past decades; second, upon the establishment of such political and economic conditions as would make impossible any revival of militarism in Japan; and third, upon bringing the Japanese to a realization that their will to war, their plan of conquest, and the methods used to accomplish such plans, have brought them to the verge of ruin,

Resolved that Japan cannot be allowed to control her own destinies again until there is on her part a determination to abandon militarism in all its aspects and a desire to live with the rest of the world in peace, and until democratic principles are established in all spheres of the political, economic, and cultural life of Japan;

Are therefore agreed:

To ensure the fulfillment of Japan's obligations to the Allied Powers;

To complete the task of physical and spiritual demilitarization of Japan by measures including total disarmament, economic reform designed to deprive Japan of power to make war, elimination of militaristic influences, and stern justice to war criminals, and requiring a period of strict control; and

To help the people of Japan in their own interest as well as that of the world at large to find means whereby

they may develop within the framework of a democratic society an intercourse among themselves and with other countries along economic and cultural lines that will enable them to satisfy their reasonable individual and national needs and bring them into permanently peaceful relationship with all nations;

And have adopted the following basic objectives and policies in dealing with Japan:

PART I. ULTIMATE OBJECTIVES

1. The ultimate objectives in relation to Japan, to which policies for the post-surrender period for Japan should conform, are:

(a) To insure that Japan will not again become a menace to the peace and security of the world.

(b) To bring about the earliest possible establishment of a democratic and peaceful government which will carry out its international responsibilities, respect the rights of other states, and support the objectives of the United Nations. Such government in Japan should be established in accordance with the freely expressed will of the Japanese people.

2. These objectives will be achieved by the following principal means:

(a) Japan's sovereignty will be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor outlying islands as may be determined.

(b) Japan will be completely disarmed and demilitarized. The authority of the militarists and the influence of militarism will be totally eliminated. All institutions expressive of the spirit of militarism and aggression will be vigorously suppressed.

(c) The Japanese people shall be encouraged to develop a desire for individual liberties and respect for fundamental human rights, particularly the freedoms of religion, assembly and association, speech and the press. They shall be encouraged to form democratic and representative organizations.

(d) Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit the exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war. To this end access to, as distinguished from control of, raw materials should be permitted. Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations will be permitted.

PART II. ALLIED AUTHORITY

1. *Military Occupation*

There will be a military occupation of the Japanese home islands to carry into effect the surrender terms and further the achievement of the ultimate objectives stated above. The occupation shall have the character of an operation in behalf of the Powers that have participated in the war against Japan. The principle of participation in the occupation of Japan by forces of these nations is affirmed. The occupation forces will be under the command of a Supreme Commander designated by the United States.

2. *Relationship to Japanese Government*

The authority of the Emperor and the Japanese Government will be subject to the Supreme Commander, who will possess all powers necessary to effectuate the surrender terms and to carry out the policies established

for the conduct of the occupation and the control of Japan.

The Supreme Commander will exercise his authority through Japanese governmental machinery and agencies, including the Emperor, but only to the extent that this satisfactorily furthers the objectives and policies stated herein. According to the judgment and discretion of the Supreme Commander, the Japanese Government may be permitted to exercise the normal powers of government in matters of domestic administration, or the Supreme Commander may in any case direct action to be taken without making use of the agencies of the Japanese Government.

After appropriate preliminary consultation with the representatives of the Allied Powers in the Allied Council for Japan, the Supreme Commander may, in cases of necessity, take decisions concerning the removal of individual ministers of the Japanese Government, or concerning the filling of vacancies created by the resignation of individual cabinet members. Changes in the governmental machinery, or a change in the Japanese Government as a whole, will be made in accordance with the principles laid down in the Terms of Reference of the Far Eastern Commission.

The Supreme Commander is not committed to support the Emperor or any other Japanese governmental authority. The policy is to use the existing form of government in Japan and not to support it. Changes in the pre-surrender form of the Emperor institution and in the form of government in the direction of modifying or removing its feudal and authoritarian character and of establishing a democratic Japan are to be encouraged.

3. *Protection of United Nations Interests*

It shall be the duty of the Supreme Commander to protect the interests, assets, and rights of all Members of the United Nations and their nationals. Where such protection conflicts with the fulfillment of the objectives and policies of the occupation, the government of the nation concerned shall be informed through diplomatic channels and shall be consulted on the question of proper adjustment.

4. *Publicity as to Policies*

The peoples of the nations which have participated in the war against Japan, the Japanese people, and the world at large shall be kept fully informed of the objectives and policies of the occupation, and of progress made in their fulfillment.

PART III. POLITICAL

1. *Disarmament and Demilitarization*

Disarmament and demilitarization are the initial tasks of the military occupation and shall be carried out promptly and with determination. Every effort shall be made to bring home to the Japanese people the part played by those who have deceived and misled them into embarking on world conquest, and those who collaborated in so doing.

Japan is not to have any army, navy, airforce, secret police organization, or any civil aviation, or gendarmerie, but may have adequate civilian police forces. Japan's ground, air and naval forces shall be disarmed and disbanded, and the Japanese Imperial General Head-

quarters, the General Staff and all secret police organizations shall be dissolved. Military and naval material, military and naval vessels and military and naval installations, and military, naval and civilian aircraft, wherever situated, shall be surrendered to the appropriate Allied commanders in their zones of capitulation of the Japanese troops and shall be disposed of in accordance with decisions of the Allied Powers, already adopted or which may be adopted. Inventories shall be made and inspections authorized to insure complete execution of these provisions.

High officials of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters and General Staff, other high military and naval officials of the Japanese Government, leaders of ultra-nationalist and militarist organizations and other important exponents of militarism and aggression will be taken into custody and held for future disposition. Persons who have been active exponents of militarism and militant nationalism will be removed and excluded from public office and from any other position of public or substantial private responsibility. Ultra-nationalistic or militaristic social, political, professional and commercial societies and institutions will be dissolved and prohibited.

The restoration, even in a disguised form, of any anti-democratic and militaristic activity shall be prevented, particularly on the part of former Japanese career military and naval officers, gendarmerie, and former members of dissolved militaristic, ultra-nationalistic and other anti-democratic organizations.

Militaristic, ultra-nationalistic and anti-democratic doctrines and practices, including para-military training, shall be eliminated from the educational system. Former career military and naval officers, both commissioned and

non-commissioned, and all other exponents of militaristic, ultra-nationalistic and anti-democratic doctrines and practices shall be excluded from supervisory and teaching positions.

2. *War Criminals*

Stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who visited cruelties upon prisoners of war or other nationals of Members of the United Nations. Persons charged by the Supreme Commander, or appropriate United Nations agencies with being war criminals shall be arrested, tried and, if convicted, punished. Those wanted by another of the United Nations for offenses against its nationals, shall, if not wanted for trial or as witnesses or otherwise by the Supreme Commander, be turned over to the custody of such other nation.

3. *Encouragement of Desire for Individual Liberties and Democratic Processes*

Freedom of worship and observance of all religions shall be proclaimed and guaranteed for the future. It should also be made plain to the Japanese that ultra-nationalistic, militaristic and anti-democratic organizations and movements will not be permitted to hide behind the cloak of religion.

The Japanese people shall be afforded opportunity and encouraged to become familiar with the history, institutions, culture and the accomplishments of the democracies.

Obstacles to the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies among the Japanese people shall be removed.

Democratic political parties, with rights of assembly and public discussion, and the formation of trade unions shall be encouraged, subject to the necessity for maintaining the security of the occupying forces.

Laws, decrees, and regulations which establish discrimination on grounds of race, nationality, creed or political opinion shall be abrogated; those which conflict with the objectives and policies outlined in this document shall be repealed, suspended or amended as required, and agencies charged specifically with their enforcement shall be abolished or appropriately modified. Persons unjustly confined by Japanese authority on political grounds shall be released. The judicial, legal and police systems shall be reformed as soon as practicable to conform to the policies set forth herein and it shall be the duty of all judicial, legal and police officers to protect individual liberties and civil rights.

PART IV. ECONOMIC

1. *Economic Demilitarization*

The existing economic basis of Japanese military strength must be destroyed and not be permitted to revive.

Therefore, a program will be enforced containing the following elements, among others: the immediate cessation and future prohibition of production of all goods designed for the equipment, maintenance, or use of any military force or establishment; the imposition of a ban upon facilities for the production or repair of implements of war, including naval vessels and all forms of aircraft; the institution of a system of inspection and control designed to prevent concealed or disguised military preparation; the elimination in Japan of those industries or

branches of production which would provide Japan with the capacity to rearm for war; and the prohibition of specialized research and instruction contributing directly to the development of war-making power. Research for peaceful ends will be permitted, but shall be strictly supervised by the Supreme Commander to prevent its use for war purposes. Japan shall be restricted to the maintenance of those industries which will sustain the level of economy and standard of living fixed in accordance with principles determined by the Far Eastern Commission, and consistent with the Potsdam Declaration.

The eventual disposition of those existing production facilities within Japan which are to be eliminated in accord with this program, as between transfer abroad for the purpose of reparations, scrapping, and conversion to other uses, will be determined, after inventory, in accordance with the principles laid down by the Far Eastern Commission or pursuant to the Terms of Reference of the Far Eastern Commission. Pending decision, no such facilities either suitable for transfer abroad or readily convertible for civilian use, shall be destroyed except in emergency situations.

2. *Promotion of Democratic Forces*

Organizations of labor in industry and agriculture, organized on a democratic basis, shall be encouraged. Other organizations in industry and agriculture, organized on a democratic basis, shall be encouraged if they will contribute to furthering the democratization of Japan or other objectives of the occupation.

Policies shall be laid down with the object of insuring a wide and just distribution of income and of the ownership of the means of production and trade.

Encouragement shall be given to those forms of economic activity, organization and leadership deemed likely to strengthen the democratic forces in Japan and to prevent economic activity from being used in support of military ends.

To this end it shall be the policy of the Supreme Commander:

(a) To prohibit the retention in important positions in the economic field of individuals who because of their past associations or for other reasons cannot be trusted to direct Japanese economic efforts solely towards peaceful and democratic ends; and

(b) To require a program for the dissolution of the large industrial and banking combinations accompanied by their progressive replacement by organizations which would widen the basis of control and ownership.

3. *Resumption of Peaceful Economic Activity*

The policies of Japan have brought down upon the people great economic destruction and confronted them with economic difficulty and suffering. The plight of Japan is the direct outcome of its own behavior, and the Allies will not undertake the burden of repairing the damage. It can be repaired only if the Japanese people renounce all military aims and apply themselves diligently and with single purpose to the ways of peaceful living. It will be necessary for them to undertake physical reconstruction and basically to reform the nature and direction of their economic activities and institutions. In accordance with assurances contained in the Potsdam Declaration, the Allies have no intention of imposing conditions which would prevent the accomplishment of these tasks in due time.

Japan will be expected to provide goods and services to meet the needs of the occupying forces to the extent that this can, in the judgment of the Supreme Commander, be effected without causing starvation, widespread disease and acute physical distress.

The Japanese authorities will be expected, and if necessary directed, to maintain, develop and enforce programs, subject to the approval of the Supreme Commander, which are designed to serve the following purposes:

(a) To avoid acute economic distress.

(b) To assure just and impartial distribution of available supplies.

(c) To meet the requirements for reparations deliveries.

(d) To make such provision for the needs of the Japanese population as may be deemed reasonable in accordance with principles formulated by the Far Eastern Commission in the light both of supplies available and of obligations to other peoples of the United Nations and territories formerly occupied by Japan.

4. *Reparations and Restitution*

REPARATIONS

For acts of aggression committed by Japan and for the purpose of equitable reparation of the damage caused by her to the Allied Powers and in the interests of destruction of the Japanese war potential in those industries which could lead to Japan's rearmament for waging war, reparations shall be exacted from Japan through the transfer of such existing Japanese capital equipment and facilities or such Japanese goods as exist or may in future be produced and which under policies set forth by the

Far Eastern Commission or pursuant to the Terms of Reference of the Far Eastern Commission should be made available for this purpose. The reparations shall be in such a form as would not endanger the fulfillment of the program of demilitarization of Japan and which would not prejudice the defraying of the cost of the occupation and the maintenance of a minimum civilian standard of living. The shares of particular countries in the total sum of the reparations from Japan shall be determined on a broad political basis, taking into due account the scope of material and human destruction and damage suffered by each claimant country as a result of the preparation and execution of Japanese aggression, and taking also into due account each country's contribution to the cause of the defeat of Japan, including the extent and duration of its resistance to Japanese aggression.

RESTITUTION

Full and prompt restitution will be required of all identifiable property, looted, delivered under duress, or paid for in worthless currency.

5. *Fiscal, Monetary, and Banking Policies*

While the Japanese authorities will remain responsible for the management and direction of the domestic fiscal, monetary, and credit policies, this responsibility is subject to the approval and review of the Supreme Commander, and wherever necessary to his direction.

6. *International Trade and Financial Relations*

Eventual Japanese participation in world trade relations shall be permitted. During occupation and under suitable controls and subject to the prior requirements

of the peoples of the countries which have participated in the war against Japan, Japan will be permitted to purchase from foreign countries raw materials and other goods that it may need for peaceful purposes. Japan will also be permitted under suitable controls to export goods to pay for approved imports. Exports other than those directed to be shipped on reparations account or as restitution may be made only to those recipients who agree to provide necessary imports in exchange or agree to pay for such exports in foreign exchange usable in purchasing imports. The proceeds of Japanese exports may be used after the minimum civilian standard of living has been secured to pay for the costs of non-military imports necessary for the occupation which have already been made since the surrender.

Control is to be maintained over all imports and exports of goods and foreign exchange and financial transactions. The Far Eastern Commission shall formulate the policies and principles governing exports from and imports to Japan. The Far Eastern Commission will formulate the policies to be followed in the exercise of these controls.

7. *Japanese Property Located Abroad*

The clauses herein on reparations and references to this subject are without prejudice to the views of Governments on the overseas assets issue.

8. *Equality of Opportunity for Foreign Enterprise Within Japan*

All business organizations of any of the United Nations shall have equal opportunity in the overseas trade and commerce of Japan. Within Japan equal treatment shall be accorded to all nationals of the United Nations.

9. *Imperial Household Property*

Imperial Household property shall not be exempt from any action necessary to carry out the objectives of the occupation.

(Quoted from the U.S. Department of State, *Bulletin*, August 3, 1947)

Policy Decision on Reduction of Japanese Industrial War Potential Adopted by the Far Eastern Commission (An Excerpt)

(August 14, 1947)

1. Summary

Subject to the provisions stated in paragraph 10, the following actions, as detailed in paragraphs 2-9, should be taken during the period of the occupation, in order to reduce Japanese industrial war potential:

a. All special-purpose industrial machinery and equipment functionally limited to use in connection with combat-equipment and products should be destroyed.

b. All other industrial machinery and equipment in primary war industries and such other industrial facilities in secondary war industries and war-supporting industries as may be in excess of the peaceful needs of the Japanese economy should be made available for claim as reparations.

c. During the period of the occupation, a prohibition should be maintained against the re-establishment of primary war industries; and specified war-supporting industries should be limited to the productive capacity levels remaining after completion of the reduction program outlined above, except as modifications in these levels may be authorized by the Far Eastern Commission.

. . . . . .

(Quoted from *Documents on American Foreign Relations*, Vol. IX)

Policy Decision on the Prohibition of Military Activity in Japan and the Disposition of Japanese Military Equipment Adopted by the Far Eastern Commission, February 12, 1948 (Excerpts)

(Released to the Press. March 23, 1948)

PREAMBLE

In accordance with paragraph 1, Part III of the Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, which was adopted unanimously by the Far Eastern Commission on 19 June 1947, and which states, "Disarmament and demilitarization are the initial tasks of the military occupation and shall be carried out promptly and with determination," the Far Eastern Commission approves the following policy decision on the Prohibition of Military Activity in Japan and Disposition of the Japanese Military Equipment.

. . . . . .

2. Possession of arms, ammunition and implements of war by any Japanese should be prohibited save that the Supreme Commander may authorize the use:

a. by Japanese civil police agencies for the purpose of maintaining law and order of rifles and pistols and

the necessary ammunition for them and other small arms exclusively used by civil police.

b. by licensed hunters of duly registered hunting weapons.

3. The development, manufacture, importation and exportation of arms, ammunition and implements of war, and materials intended for military use should be prohibited for Japan, except for the importation of no more than the quantities of arms and ammunition necessary for the purposes mentioned in paragraph 2.

4. The manufacture of aircraft of all kinds should be prohibited in Japan.

5. The construction of any naval combatant and auxiliary vessel or craft, the conversion of any commercial vessel or craft to military purposes, and the reconstruction or remodelling of commercial vessels or craft so as to render them more suitable for military purposes should be prohibited.

6. Military equipment seized from the former Japanese Armed Forces or from members of the Japanese civil populace should after examination be destroyed or scrapped except for:

a. Military equipment required for operational needs of the occupation forces or for the lawful activities of the Japanese civil police;

b. Items convertible to peacetime civilian uses;

. . . . . .

9. All records of military registration of demobilized personnel from the Army, Navy, Air Forces, gendarmerie and secret police should be confiscated and transferred to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for subsequent destruction. *No further records of this nature* should be compiled or maintained by the Japanese.

10. Reestablishment of the following should be prohibited: the War and Navy Ministries, the Japanese Imperial High Command, the Supreme Military Council, the Council of Marshals and Admirals, the Inspectorate of Military Training, the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, the Naval General Headquarters, the Headquarters of Armies and Fleets, and also any military or para-military organizations, military academies and schools, military scientific and research institutions and military laboratories, as well as the Officers Corps in any form. Such demobilization agency as is retained for the purpose of demobilizing returning Japanese Armed Forces should be of a civilian character and should be abolished immediately after completion of the demobilization. The former Japanese demobilization system involving special privileges of demobilized members of the Japanese armed forces should also be abolished.

11. All military and para-military organizations in Japan, including ex-officers' organizations, together with their affiliates and the clubs which were used for making propaganda for militarism and ultra-nationalism should be dissolved and their revival or establishment in any form, including a disguised form, should be prohibited. The application of this paragraph should extend also to various associations created under the guise of production associations, such as co-operative societies for joint cultivation of land, for fishing, and others, which are composed wholly or substantially of ex-officers of the Army and Navy and gendarmerie and headed by their former military commanders. This paragraph should apply also to any other associations composed wholly or substantially of ex-officers of the Japanese Army and Navy and gendarmerie, ostensibly created for legitimate purposes, but which are, in reality, disguised forms of military or para-military organizations, or which have some other disguised subversive purpose.

12. Military training of the civilian population and military instruction in schools should be prohibited.

13. For the purpose of prevention of the revival of Japanese militarism persons who have at one time fallen within any of the following categories should not be nominated or employed in the government service, public office, or educational institutions except as they may be necessary in performing duties essential to the demobilization of repatriated military and naval personnel.

a. Generals, Admirals, and all other senior officers and all career officers of the Army, Navy and gendarmerie;

b. Other officers of the Army, Navy and gendarmerie, including members of the reserve, if their employment would harm the cause of peace and security; and

c. Officials of ex-officers' and other military and para-military associations and of bodies closely associated with the armed forces.

The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers may authorize the nomination or employment of a person coming within categories *a* and *c* if his record shows that he has been an opponent of Japanese expansionism and totalitarianism.

14. All measures necessary should be undertaken to prevent any revival of the Japanese Army, Navy, gendarmerie, secret police and their administrative organs.

(Quoted from *Documents on American Foreign Relations,* Vol. X)

Treaty of Mutual Co-operation and Security Between the United States of America and Japan

(January 19, 1960)

The United States of America and Japan,

Desiring to strengthen the bonds of peace and friendship traditionally existing between them, and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law,

Desiring further to encourage closer economic cooperation between them and to promote conditions of economic stability and well-being in their countries,

Reaffirming their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments,

Recognizing that they have the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense as affirmed in the Charter of the United Nations,

Considering that they have a common concern in the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East,

Having resolved to conclude a treaty of mutual cooperation and security,

Therefore agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

The parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The parties will endeavor in concert with other peace-loving countries to strengthen the United Nations so that its mission of maintaining international peace and security may be discharged more effectively.

ARTICLE II

The parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between them.

ARTICLE III

The parties, individually and in cooperation with each other, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop, subject to their constitutional provisions, their capacities to resist armed attack.

ARTICLE IV

The parties will consult together from time to time regarding the implementation of this treaty and, at the request of either party, whenever the security of Japan or international peace and security in the Far East is threatened.

ARTICLE V

Each party recognizes that an armed attack against either party in the territories under the administration of Japan would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional provisions and processes.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

ARTICLE VI

For the purpose of contributing to the security of Japan and the maintenance of international peace and security in the Far East, the United States of America is granted the use by its land, air and naval forces of facilities and areas in Japan.

The use of these facilities and areas as well as the status of United States armed forces in Japan shall be governed by a separate agreement, replacing the administrative agreement under Article III of the Security

Treaty between the United States of America and Japan, signed at Tokyo on Feb. 28, 1952, as amended, and by such other arrangements as may be agreed upon.

ARTICLE VII

This treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of the parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

ARTICLE VIII

This treaty shall be ratified by the United States of America and Japan in accordance with their respective constitutional processes and will enter into force on the date on which the instruments of ratification thereof have been exchanged by them in Tokyo.

ARTICLE IX

The Security Treaty between the United States of America and Japan signed at the city of San Francisco on Sept. 8, 1951 shall expire upon the entering into force of this treaty.

ARTICLE X

This treaty shall remain in force until in the opinion of the Governments of the United States of America and Japan there shall have come into force such United Nations arrangements as will satisfactorily provide for the maintenance of international peace and security in the Japan area.

However, after the treaty has been in force for ten years, either party may give notice to the other party of its intention to terminate the treaty, in which case the treaty shall terminate one year after such notice has been given.

In Witness Whereof, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty.

Done in duplicate at Washington in the English and Japanese languages, both equally authentic, this 19th day of January, 1960.

For the United States of America:

CHRISTIAN HERTER, *Secretary of State;*
DOUGLAS MACARTHUR 2d, *American Ambassador to Japan;*
J. GRAHAM PARSONS, *Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs.*

For Japan:

NOBUSUKE KISHI, *Prime Minister;*
AIICHIRO FUJIYAMA, *Foreign Minister;*
MITSUJIRO ISHII, *Member, House of Representatives, and Chairman of the Executive Board, Liberal-Democratic Party;*
TADASHI ADACHI, *President of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry;*
KOICHIRO ASAKAI, *Ambassador of Japan to the United States.*

(Quoted from *The New York Times*, January 20, 1960)